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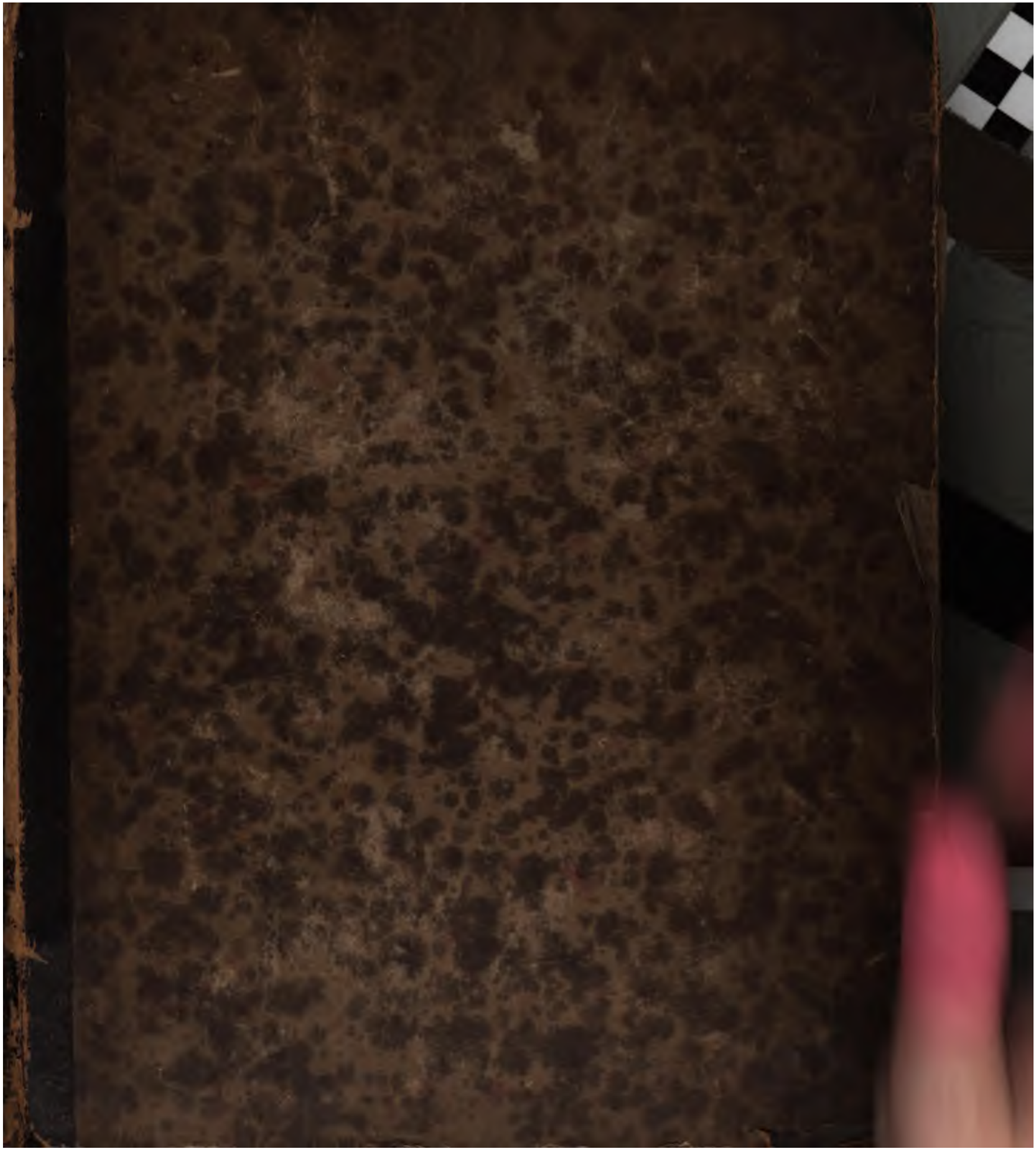

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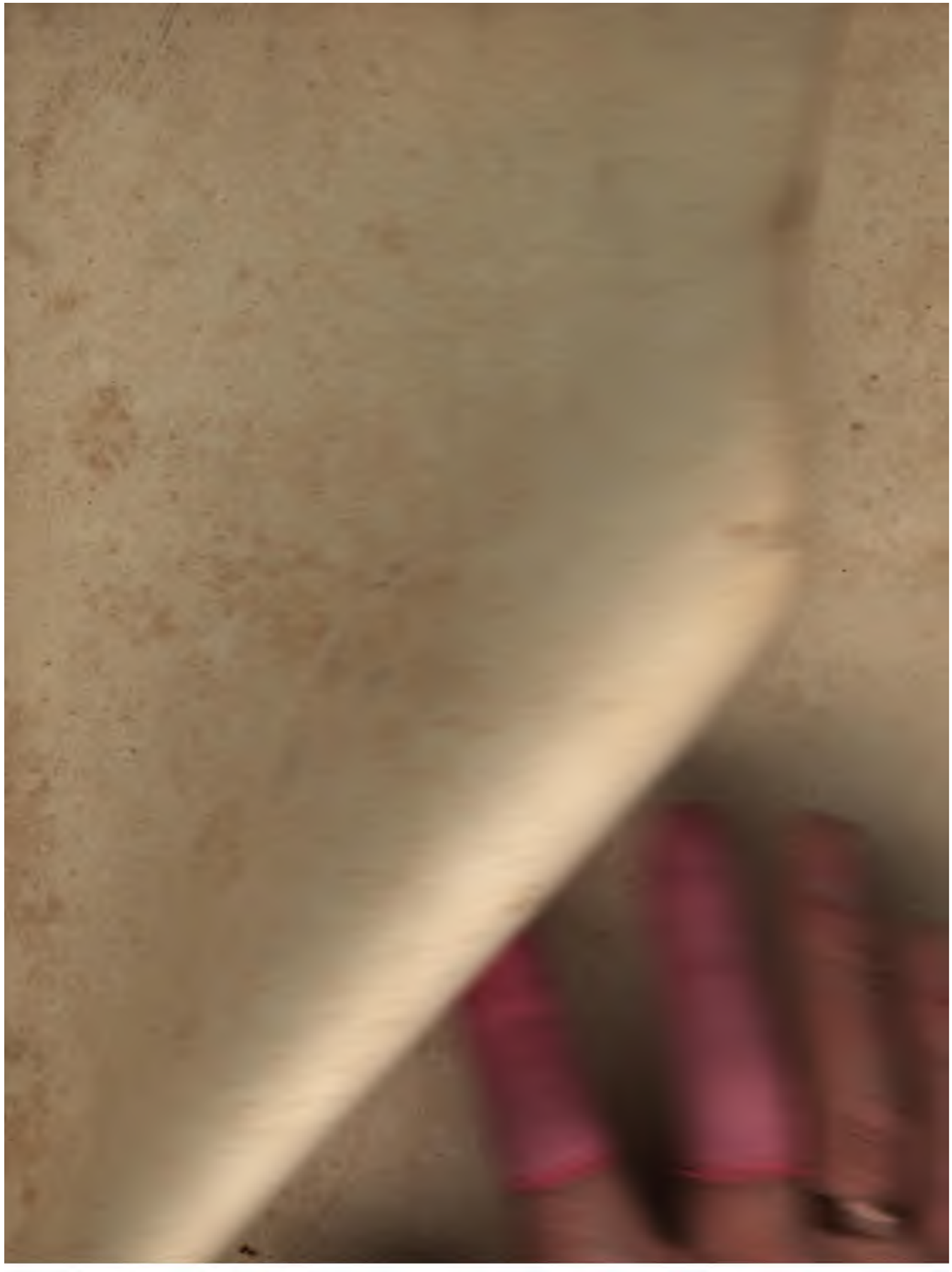

MEMOIRS

OF

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

EDMUND BURKE;

OR,

AN IMPARTIAL REVIEW

OF

HIS PRIVATE LIFE, HIS PUBLIC CONDUCT,

HIS SPEECHES IN PARLIAMENT,

AND THE DIFFERENT PRODUCTIONS OF HIS PEN,

WHETHER POLITICAL OR LITERARY.

INTERSPERSED WITH

A VARIETY OF CURIOUS ANECDOTES,

AND

EXTRACTS FROM HIS SECRET CORRESPONDENCE

WITH

SOME OF THE MOST DISTINGUISHED CHARACTERS IN EUROPE.

By CHARLES M'CORMICK, LL. B.

THE SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR LEE AND HURST, NO. 32, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1798

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ADVERTISEMENT.

A SKETCH of the following work was written about two years ago for a Magazine. The general notice, which it then excited, would not have induced the author to fill up the outline, or to engage in an undertaking of such magnitude, had he not been since supplied with some materials of too much importance to be withheld from the people of England, and of too much delicacy to be safely laid before them in any other form than that of biographical or historical illustrations. They throw great light on the secret intrigues of the British cabinet during the most eventful period of our history.

It would have been easy to give the work a higher finishing in a little more time; but the praise of masterly execution appeared of little consequence, when compared with the advantages which the country was likely to derive from the immediate diffusion of such interesting truths. *Data tempore prosint.*

The early part of Mr. BURKE's life is rapidly passed over, as the events are taken from mere reports, the fidelity of which it was impossible to ascertain without greater trouble than they seemed to deserve; but, from the commencement of his public career, every step has been traced with the utmost care; and every fact has been established upon indisputable authorities.

In reply to the *Injunction*, which Mrs. BURKE was persuaded by some silly and malicious advisers to solicit, the author of the following Memoirs has only to observe, that the *Injunction* might have been addressed to Mr. BURKE's ghost with as much propriety as to him. He would be the last man in the world to touch "the widow's mite,"---to invade her inheritance either of Mr. BURKE's literary property, or dearly earned pensions: but he does not conceive that the right of publishing remarks on the speeches and writings of others expired with Mr. BURKE; and he certainly has not carried that liberty to a greater extent than was exercised by the right honourable gentleman during his whole life.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

EDMUND BURKE.

IN order to avoid confuſion in the moſt variegated landſcape, the painter need only fix upon one ſtriking point of view, and, by the magic of his pencil and colours, make every ſurrounding object tend, as it were, to that center of unity. But the rich ſcenery of genius will by no means admit of the like artifice or method. Its branches are often ſo luxuriant and expanſive, that each of them completely fills the eye, and precludes the idea of ſecondary importance. There are few characters to which this remark is more juſtly applicable than to that of Mr. Burke. The livelineſs of his fancy, and the accuracy of his judgment;---the graſp of his memory, and the fertility of his invention;---the vigor of his native powers, and his immenſe acquirements by learning and ſtudy;---ſeem almoſt equally to attract our notice, and to excite our admiration. Poſſeſſing as great a command of the pen as of the tongue, he is one of the rare inſtances to be met with, either in ancient or modern times, of men who have united the talents of ſpeaking and writing with irreſiſtible force and elegance. He has riſen to no leſs diſtinction in the literary than in the political world, and may be ſaid to have ſhone with

extraordinary luſtre in two different hemiſpheres. Inſtead, therefore, of vainly attempting to embrace, at a ſingle glance, ſuch a diffuſion of light, we muſt be content to follow it in all its revolutions, in all the whirling changes of its eccentric courſe: we muſt remark with ſtrict attention the moments of its dimneſs and obſcurity, as well as thoſe of its brigheſt effulgence; and, after deſcribing with heart-felt rapture the beauties of its meridian ſplendor, let us not be blamed for ſhedding a tear at its ſinking under a total and irremovable eclipſe.

It would be trifling not only with our readers, but with the ſubject, to dwell on circumſtances of little importance, or of general notoriety, ſuch as the birth-place and family of Mr. Burke. All that we need obſerve concerning theſe matters is, that he was born in the year 1729, near the town of Carlow in Ireland, a country on which it was fondly hoped by his friends that he would reflect immortal honour, while he elevated the dignity of human nature. His parents lived in a ſtate of decent mediocrity, equally removed from penury and opulence. It was his good fortune to be placed at a very early period under the inſtruction of a Mr. SHUCKLETON, an amiable and enlightened quaker, who kept a ſchool at Ballytore, in the county of Kildare, and who, ſoon diſcovering the abilities of his pupil, cheriſhed his ardor and aſſiſted his exertions in the purſuit of every valuable attainment. PHILIP of Macedon thanked the Gods, at the birth of ALEXANDER, not ſo much for their having bleſſed him with a ſon, as for that ſon's being born at a time when an ARISTOTLE was living to ſuperintend his education. Mr. Burke's father muſt have felt ſimilar emotions on finding a SHUCKLETON in his neighbourhood, to train up the young orator.

We may alſo very eaſily conceive how much the natural pride of the tutor muſt have been flattered and gratified by the rapidity of

of his ſcholar's progreſs. Yet, that pleaſure was not wholly unmixt with mortification at perceiving the early dawn of genius obſcured by ſome marks of an overbearing and intolerant ſpirit. The old quaker often related the following anecdote with tears. A pamphlet had juſt been publiſhed, written with great virulence, though in a maſterly ſtyle, againſt the Roman catholics of Ireland. Mr. SHUCKLETON put it into the hands of young BURKE, and deſired to know his opinion of it. He thus expreſſed himſelf, after reading the work :---" The only fault I find in it is its being too conciſe, and not ſevere enough. Inſtead of a little *duodecimo*, were I to write on the ſubject, I ſhould make it a large *quarto*, and ſhould give a keener edge to every argument; for I really think that our eſtabliſhments both in church and ſtate will never be ſecure, without an abſolute extermination of the papiſts." He has ſince ſhewn greater kindneſs for the Roman catholic part of his countrymen: he has even pleaded their cauſe in a ſtrain of the moſt perſuaſive eloquence: yet they do not in general believe that this proceeds from any real change in his original principles,---but from an affectation of liberality towards *them*, while he wiſhed to direct the whole tide of perſecution againſt *another* party. A few of their leaders, who are in the ſecret, aſcribe his zeal to a bribe of two thouſand pounds which they gave him for his ſervices, and to the appointment of his ſon as their agent. All theſe motives may, indeed, have concurred to operate very powerfully on his perſeverance; but it is candid to ſuppoſe that a correction of early prejudices, and a more enlightened policy, gave the firſt impulſe to his laudable exertions.

An opinion prevails in England, chiefly from the boldneſs with which the thing has been aſſerted by ſome of Mr. BURKE's political adverſaries, that he was rocked in the cradle of popery;---that *beads* and *roſaries* were the playthings of his childhood;---

that he received his firſt leſſons, or rudiments of learning, from one of the *holy fathers*, and completed his ſtudies at the Jeſuits' College at St. Omer's. To theſe calumnies, though tot lly unfounded in fact, ſome colouring has been given by his funeral lamentations on the downfall of the French clergy; by his writings in favour of the catholics of Ireland; and by his permitting a wife of that perſuaſion ſometimes to keep a prieſt in the houſe. But, as civil and ſpiritual tyranny had been inſeparably united in the old French ſyſtem, he could not propoſe the re-eſtabliſhment of the one, without endeavouring to prop up the rotten pillars of the other: his views in becoming an advocate for the Iriſh catholics have been already hinted at, and will be farther explained: and with regard to his allowing Mrs. BURKE a domeſtic chaplain, it ſhould be conſidered as a proof of his affectionate indulgence, though he has alſo been known to derive another pleaſure from it, like that of VOLTAIRE in admitting *Father* ADAM to his table, merely to make the poor prieſt the butt of deiſtical raillery.---This digreſſion ſeemed neceſſary to correct a popular miſtake on the ſubject of Mr. BURKE's religious principles. We ſhall now reſume the thread of our biographical narrative.

After a regular courſe of ſtudy under the good quaker, *the pride of the ſchool*, for ſo young EDMUND was called, was removed at the age of ſixteen to Trinity College, Dublin, where the preſages already formed of his genius were more and more confirmed. In the ſecond year of his reſidence there, he obtained a ſcholarſhip, which is ſomewhat ſimilar in point of honour and emolument to the rank of a ſtudent at Chriſt Church, Oxford. As ſoon as he took his batchelor's degree in 1749, he came over to London, and entered himſelf a member of the honourable ſociety of the Middle Temple, with a view of being called to the bar. Fired by the examples of DEMOSTHENES and CICERO,

CERO, he bent all the powers of his capacious mind to the acquiſition of knowledge. He left no region of ſcience unexplored, no path of learning untrodden, which could lead him to profeſſional eminence. But his health was gradually impaired by this intenſe application to ſtudy; and a dangerous illneſs threatened to deprive himſelf, his friends, and the world, of the fruits of ſuch unparalleled induſtry and talents.

Mr. BURKE, on being attacked in ſo alarming a manner, ſent for Doctor NUGENT, a man of great ſkill, and ſtill greater goodneſs of heart, who perceiving that the noiſe and other inconveniences, to which his patient was expoſed in chambers at an inn of court, muſt greatly obſtruct his recovery, perſuaded him to accept of apartments at the houſe of his liberal and benevolent phyſician. Here he was treated with all the care which an only ſon could experience under the roof of the fondeſt parent. The return of his health was not more promoted by the effect of ſalutary medicines than by the tender attention of the whole family, and particularly of the daughter, Miſs NUGENT, who was almoſt conſtantly at his bedſide, affording him every aſſiſtance in her power, and cheering the languid hours of ſickneſs by her ſweet and lively converſation. Gratitude on his part ſoon grew into love; and the only adequate return he could make to his endearing nurſe was an offer of his heart. It was accepted; and in all the chequered ſcenes of his life ſince that period, he has never had any cauſe to repent his having fixed his affections on ſo worthy an object.

But Mr. BURKE's attachment to his intended bride did not prevent him from renewing his addreſſes to nine other ladies, of whom he had before been the zealous votary. The Muſes heard him with gracious ſmiles; and though he wrote in proſe, yet it was proſe adorned with the choiceſt gifts of thoſe deities that preſide

preſide over works of genius. An "Inquiry into the origin of our ideas of the ſublime and beautiful" had long engaged his attention, and exerciſed his pen. It may be conſidered as a hive where this Attic bee was ſtudiouſly collecting the ſweets of ancient and modern compoſition. His intention was to bring it out in the beginning of the year 1756; but the noiſe at that time excited by lord BOLINGBROKE's poſthumous works induced Mr. BURKE to keep back for a few months his favorite eſſay, and to make his *debut*, or firſt appearance before the literary world, in the character of the deceaſed nobleman.* He ſoon put the ſagacity of critics to the proof by a pamphlet entitled "A Vindication of natural Society; or a View of the Miſeries and Evils ariſing to Mankind from every Species of artificial Society, in a letter to lord *** by a late noble Writer." To the firſt edition was prefixed a curious advertiſement in theſe words: "The following letter appears to have been written about the year 1748, and the perſon to whom it is addreſſed need not be pointed out. As it is probable the noble writer had no deſign that it ſhould ever appear in public, this will account for his having kept no copy of it, and conſequently for its not appearing among the reſt of his works. By what means it came into the hands of the editor is not at all material to the public, any further than as ſuch an account might tend to authenticate the genuineneſs of it, and for this it was thought it might ſafely rely on its own internal evidence."

An air of authenticity was ſpread over the whole performance. The ſtile and manner of the ſuppoſed original were hit off with ſo

* He had aſſiſted his friend Mr. WILLIAM BURKE in writing the Hiſtory of the European Colonies in America, which came out in 1751; but as that was a joint production, it cannot be allowed the firſt place in the catalogue of his own genuine compoſitions.

much

much exactneſs as to deceive at firſt ſight ſome very good judges. The richneſs of imagery, the declamatory ardor, the impetuous and overbearing eloquence, in a word, all the characteriſtical beauties and defects of BOLINGBROKE appeared in every page of this admirable counterfeit. To aſpire to notice by an imitation of ſo eminent a writer was certainly a bold attempt: but the young eagle felt his own ſtrength of pinion: he ſoared aloft on daring wing: he viewed the ſun with undazzled eye; and ſhewed himſelf able to bear the bolt of heaven in his pounces.

When Mr. BURKE thought proper to undeceive the public, he ſaid, the deſign of his pamphlet was to demonſtrate that the ſame engines, which were employed for the deſtruction of religion, might be employed with equal ſucceſs for the ſubverſion of government; and that it was more eaſy to maintain a wrong cauſe, or give a gloſs to ingenious falſhoods, than to eſtabliſh a doubtful truth by ſolid argument. In this ſpecimen of *the abuſe of reaſon*, as he calls it, he takes a glance at the condition of mankind in a ſtate of nature, ſubject to many and great inconveniencies. "Want of union," ſays he, "want of mutual aſſiſtance, want of a common arbitrator to reſort to in their differences---theſe were evils, which they could not but have felt pretty ſeverely on many occaſions. The original children of the earth lived with their brethren of the other kinds in much equality. Their diet muſt have been confined almoſt wholly to the vegetable kind; and the ſame tree, which in its flouriſhing ſtate produced them berries, in its decay gave them an habitation. The mutual deſires of the ſexes uniting their bodies and affections, and the children which were the reſults of theſe intercourſes, introduced firſt the notion of ſociety, and taught its conveniencies. This ſociety, founded in natural appetites and inſtincts, and not in any poſitive inſtitution, I ſhall call *natural ſociety*. Thus far nature went, and ſucceeded; but man

man would go farther. The great error of our nature is, not to know where to ſtop,---not to be ſatisfied with any reaſonable acquirement,---not to compound with our condition,---but to loſe all we have gained by an inſatiable purſuit after more. Man found a conſiderable advantage by this union of many perſons to form one family: he therefore judged that he would find his account proportionably in an union of many families into one body politic; and, as nature has formed no bond of union to hold them together, he ſupplied this defect by *laws*. This is *political ſociety*; and hence the ſources of what are uſually called ſtates, civil ſocieties, or governments, into ſome form of which, more extended or reſtrained, all mankind have gradually fallen."

After a few remarks on the ſhocks lately given to the fabric of ſuperſtition and of eccleſiaſtical tyranny, on the glimmerings of light which we began to ſee through the chinks and breaches of our priſon, and on the refreſhing airs of liberty which we felt, he proceeds to inquire from hiſtory and experience, whether civil government be ſuch a protector from natural evils, and ſuch a nurſe and increaſe of bleſſings, as thoſe of warm imaginations promiſe. He firſt conſiders the external relation which ſtates bear to each other in point of friendſhip or enmity, and aſſerts, that the good offices done by one nation to its neighbour, or the mutual returns of kindneſs and civility between them, ſince the earlieſt period of their intercourſe, would not afford matter enough to fill ten pages; but that war was the eternal ſubject of hiſtory, ---that the firſt accounts we had of mankind were but ſo many accounts of their butcheries,---that all empires had been cemented in blood,---and that, when the race of mankind began firſt to form themſelves into parties and combinations, the firſt effect of the combination, and indeed the end for which it ſeemed purpoſely formed and beſt calculated, was their mutual deſtruction.

In

In ſupport of theſe aſſertions, he enters into a detail of hiſtorical evidence. He begins with SESOSTRIS, "the oldeſt conqueror on record, opening the ſcene by the deſtruction of at leaſt one million of his ſpecies, unprovoked but by his ambition, without any motives but pride, cruelty, and madneſs, and without any benefit to himſelf; but ſolely to make ſo many people, in the moſt diſtant countries, feel experimentally, how ſevere a ſcourge Providence intends for the human race, when he gives to one man the power over many, and arms his naturally impotent and feeble rage with the hands of millions, who know no common principle of action, but a blind obedience to the paſſions of their ruler."

The next perſonage, whom he deſcribes as figuring in the tragedies of this ancient theatre, is SEMIRAMIS. She carried on many wars; but he ſuppoſes, that in the expedition only againſt the Indians "three millions of ſouls expired, with all the horrid and ſhocking circumſtances which attend all wars, and in a quarrel, in which none of the ſufferers could have the leaſt rational concern."

Purſuing theſe calculations of human carnage, he looks upon it as an undeniable inference from general hiſtory, "that the Babylonian, Aſſyrian, Median, and Perſian monarchies muſt have poured out ſeas of blood in their formation and in their deſtruction. The Perſian empire alone, in its wars againſt the Greeks and Scythians, threw away at leaſt four millions of its ſubjects. Theſe were their loſſes abroad; but the war was brought home to them, firſt by AGESILAUS, and afterwards by ALEXANDER. To form the latter hero "no leſs than twelve hundred thouſand lives muſt have been ſacrificed; but no ſooner had he fallen himſelf a ſacrifice to his vices, than a thouſand breaches were made

for ruin to enter, and give the laſt hand to this ſcene of miſery and deſtruction. His kingdom was rent and divided; which ſerved to employ the more diſtinct parts to tear each other to pieces, and bury the whole in blood and ſlaughter. The kings of Syria and of Egypt, the kings of Pergamus and Macedon, without intermiſſion worried each other for above two hundred years; until at laſt a ſtrong power ariſing in the weſt ruſhed in upon them, and ſilenced their tumults, by involving all the contending parties in the ſame deſtruction. It is little to ſay, that the contentions between the ſucceſſors of ALEXANDER depopulated that part of the world of at leaſt two millions."

A juſt obſervation is here made on the frantic and bloody diſputes of the different ſtates of Greece among themſelves for an unprofitable ſuperiority. It is, indeed, aſtoniſhing how ſo ſmall a ſpot could furniſh men ſufficient to ſacrifice to the pitiful ambition of poſſeſſing five or ſix thouſand more acres, or two or three more villages. Yet, in contefts for ſuch objects,---in the alternate horrors of foreign war and inteſtine diviſion, Greece conſumed no leſs than three millions of her inhabitants. Sicily is alſo very properly repreſented as "a field of blood," whilſt the mode of its government was controverted between oppoſite parties, and the poſſeſſion ſtruggled for by the natives, the Greeks, the Carthaginians and the Romans. Every page of its hiſtory was blotted and confounded by tumults, rebellions, maſſacres, aſſaſſinations, proſcriptions, and a ſeries of horror beyond the hiſtories perhaps of any other nation in the world, though all made up of ſimilar matter. The ſlaughters in this little iſland are reckoned at two millions, and thoſe in Grecia Magna at half that number, both eſtimates being preſumed to fall far ſhort of the reality.

From

From the wars which had waſted Sicily and the Grecian colonies on the Italian coaſt, the writer conducts us, by a rapid, yet eaſy tranſition, to the great ſcene which eſtabliſhed the Roman empire, and formed the grand cataſtrophe of the ancient drama. "This empire," ſays he, "whilſt in its infancy, began by an effuſion of human blood ſcarcely credible. The neighbouring little ſtates teemed for new deſtruction: the Sabines, the Samnites, the Æqui, the Volſci, the Hetrurians, were broken by a ſeries of ſlaughters, which had no interruption for ſome hundreds of years;---ſlaughters, which upon all ſides conſumed more than two millions of the wretched people. The Gauls ruſhing into Italy about this time, added the total deſtruction of their own armies to thoſe of the ancient inhabitants. In ſhort, it were hardly poſſible to conceive a more horrid picture, if that which the Punic wars that enſued ſoon after did not preſent one, that far exceeds it. Here we find that climax of devaſtation and ruin, which ſeemed to ſhake the whole earth. The extent of this war which vexed ſo many nations, and both elements, and the havoc of the human ſpecies cauſed in both, really aſtoniſhes beyond expreſſion, when it is nakedly conſidered, and thoſe matters which are apt to divert our attention from it, the characters, actions, and deſigns of the perſons concerned, are not taken into the account. Theſe wars, I mean thoſe called the Punic wars, could not have ſtood the human race in leſs than three millions of the ſpecies: and yet this forms but a part only, and a very ſmall part, of the havoc cauſed by the Roman ambition. The war with MITHRIDATES was very little leſs bloody: that prince cut off at one ſtroke 150,000 Romans by a maſſacre. In that war SYLLA deſtroyed 300,000 men at Cheronea. He defeated MITHRIDATES' army under DORILAUS, and ſlew 300,000. This great and unfortunate

fortunate prince loſt another 300,000 before Cyzicum. In the courſe of the war he had innumerable other loſſes; and having many intervals of ſucceſs, he revenged them ſeverely. He was at laſt totally overthrown; and he cruſhed to pieces the king of Armenia his ally by the greatneſs of his ruin. All who had connections with him ſhared the ſame fate. The mercileſs genius of SYLLA had its full ſcope; and the ſtreets of Athens were not the only oneswhich ran with blood. At this period, the ſword, glutted with foreign ſlaughter, turned its edge upon the bowels of the Roman republic itſelf; and preſented a ſcene of cruelties and treaſons enough almoſt to obliterate the memory of all the external devaſtations."

It would not be eaſy to point out, even in the works of ISOCRATES, a finer ſtroke of artificial eloquence than Mr. BURKE introduced with happy effect into this part of his letter. He knew the reader would ſoon grow tired of the melancholy ſubject, and that it was neceſſary to abridge the farther ſurvey of affliction, without weakening the force of his main argument. Stopping ſhort, therefore, as if ſeized with horror at the taſk he had undertaken, and turning to the noble lord, or imaginary object of his addreſs, "I intended," ſays he, "to have proceeded in a ſort of method in eſtimating the numbers of mankind cut off in theſe wars which we have on record. But I am obliged to alter my deſign. Such a tragical uniformity of havoc and murder would diſguſt your lordſhip as much as it would me; and I confeſs I already feel my eyes ache by keeping them ſo long intent on ſo bloody a proſpect."

Being relieved by this ingenious apology from the trouble of minute details, he haſtily paſſes over the Servile, the Social, the Gallic and Spaniſh wars, thoſe with JUGURTHA, with ANTIOCHUS,

ochus, and many others carried on with equal fury, among which he obſerves that the butcheries of Julius Cæsar alone had been reckoned by ſomebody elſe at one million, two hundred thouſand. He then dwells a little longer on the hiſtory of Judea, which he propoſes as a ſtandard for meaſuring in ſome degree the wide-ſpread havoc of other countries. He does not take into his account the extirpation of the former inhabitants by the Jews, the vaſt multitudes of the latter conſumed in their own civil wars, nor the immenſe ravages made among them by the kings of Babylon and Aſſyria; but he confines himſelf to the deciſive blow that terminated their exiſtence as a nation,—a blow which is allowed to have cut off two millions of people. He then aſks, if, in ſo inconſiderable a part of the globe, ſuch a carnage has been made in two or three ſhort reigns, what ſhall we judge of countries more extended, and which have waged wars of far greater importance and duration? Inſtances of this ſort, he adds, compoſe the uniform of hiſtory. But there have been periods when no leſs than univerſal deſtruction to the race of mankind ſeems to have been threatened. Here he notices the irruptions of the Goths, Vandals, and other barbarians, pouring alternately from the north and ſouth, carrying deſtruction before them as they advanced, and leaving horrid deſarts every where behind them. He alſo mentions the conqueſts of the Spaniards in the New World, where, at the loweſt eſtimate, ten millions of the ſpecies muſt have fallen victims to the avarice and bigotry of the invaders. He concludes that the total of thoſe killed in battle from the beginning of the world to the time in which he wrote may be modeſtly put at a thouſand times more than he has particularized, that is, about thirty-ſix thouſand millions. To juſtify his calculations from the charge of extravagance, he ſays he need not enlarge on the torrents

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of ſilent and inglorious blood which have glutted the thirſty ſands of Afric, or diſcoloured the polar ſnow, or fed the ſavage foreſts of America for ſo many ages; nor ſhould he inflame the account by thoſe general maſſacres which have devoured whole cities and nations,—thoſe waſting peſtilences,—thoſe conſuming famines,—and all thoſe furies that follow in the train of war. If then, the preſent population of the whole earth be computed at five hundred millions at the moſt, the ſlaughter of mankind, as he ſtates it, amounts to upwards of ſeventy times the number of ſouls this day on the globe.

When he comes to draw his inferences from theſe facts, and pretends to charge the greateſt part of ſo much deſtruction of the ſpecies on civil policy, the under-plot is ſeen through the fine web of ſpecious argument. "To give," he ſays, "the faireſt play to every ſide of the queſtion, I will own that there is a haughtineſs and fierceneſs in human nature, which will cauſe innumerable broils, place men in what ſituation you pleaſe; but owning this, I ſtill inſiſt in charging it to political regulations, that theſe broils are ſo frequent, ſo cruel, and attended with conſequences ſo deplorable. In a ſtate of nature, it had been impoſſible to find a number of men, ſufficient for ſuch ſlaughters, agreed in the ſame bloody purpoſe; or allowing that they might have come to ſuch an agreement, (an impoſſible ſuppoſition) yet the means that ſimple nature has ſupplied them with, are by no means adequate to ſuch an end: many ſcratches, many bruiſes undoubtedly would be received upon all hands; but only a few, a very few deaths. Society and politics, which have given us theſe deſtructive views, have given us alſo the means of ſatisfying them. From the earlieſt dawnings of policy to this day, the invention of men has been ſharpening and improving the myſtery of murder,

der, from the firſt rude eſſays of clubs and ſtones, to the preſent perfection of gunnery, cannoneering, bombarding, mining, and all theſe ſpecies of artificial, learned, and refined cruelty, in which we are now ſo expert, and which make a principal part of what politicians have taught us to believe is our principal glory."

A ſhew of reaſoning by analogy from the little havoc made by the fierceſt of the brute creation is next aſſumed; and the writer affects to prove, that the evils which man alone endures in the ſocial ſtate, are not accidental, but the neceſſary reſult of the very conſtitution of ſociety. "For as *ſubordination*, or, in other words, the reciprocation of tyranny and ſlavery, is neceſſary to ſupport theſe ſocieties, the intereſt, the ambition, the malice, or the revenge, nay even the whim or the caprice of one ruling man among them is enough to arm all the reſt, without any private views of their own, to the worſt and blackeſt purpoſes; and what is at once lamentable and ridiculous, theſe wretches engage under thoſe banners with a fury greater than if they were animated by revenge for their own proper wrongs."

In the ſame ſtrain he goes on with obſerving, that the diviſion of mankind into ſeparate ſocieties is in itſelf a perpetual ſource of diſſention;---that the very names which diſtinguiſh them are ſufficient to blow up envy and malice;---and that we need no other proof of the outrage thus offered to nature than the inſtruments of violence with which every ſociety is abundantly ſtored, for the ſole purpoſe of ſupporting a dozen or two in pride and folly, and millions in abject ſervitude. He paints in glowing colours the ſeverity and rigor of deſpotiſm, the more grievous exceſſes of ariſtocratical oppreſſion, and the confuſion, giddineſs, and madneſs of democracy. We can only make room for his picture

picture of the firſt; but that will ſerve as a ſpecimen of the maſterly manner in which thoſe three forms of artificial ſociety are delineated.

"The ſimpleſt form of government is *deſpotiſm*, where all the inferior orbs of power are moved merely by the will of the Supreme, and all that are ſubjected to them, directed in the ſame manner, merely by the occaſional will of the magiſtrate. This form, as it is the moſt ſimple, ſo it is infinitely the moſt general. Scarce any part of the world is exempted from its power: and in thoſe few places where men enjoy what they call liberty, it is continually in a tottering ſituation, and makes greater and greater ſtrides to that gulph of deſpotiſm which at laſt ſwallows up every ſpecies of government. This manner of ruling, being directed merely by the will of the weakeſt and generally the worſt man in the ſociety, becomes the moſt fooliſh and capricious thing, at the ſame time that it is the moſt terrible and deſtructive that well can be conceived. In a deſpotiſm the principal finds, that, let the want, miſery, and indigence of his ſubjects be what they will, he can yet poſſeſs abundantly of every thing to gratify his moſt inſatiable wiſhes. He does more. He finds that theſe gratifications increaſe in proportion to the wretchedneſs and ſlavery of his ſubjects. Thus encouraged both by paſſion and intereſt to trample on the public welfare, and by his ſtation placed above both ſhame and fear, he proceeds to the moſt horrid and ſhocking outrages upon mankind. Their perſons become victims of his ſuſpicions. The ſlighteſt diſpleaſure is death; and a diſagreeable aſpect is often as great a crime as high treaſon. In the court of NERO, a perſon of learning, of unqueſtioned merit, and of unſuſpected loyalty, was put to death for no other reaſon than that he had a pedantic countenance which diſpleaſed the emperor. This very monſter of mankind appeared in the beginning of his reign

reign to be a perſon of virtue. Many of the greateſt tyrants on the records of hiſtory have begun their reigns in their faireſt manner. But the truth is, this unnatural power corrupts both the heart and the underſtanding. And to prevent the leaſt hope of amendment, a king is ever ſurrounded by a crowd of infamous flatterers, who find their account in keeping him from the leaſt light of reaſon, till all ideas of rectitude and juſtice are utterly eraſed from his mind. When ALEXANDER had in his fury inhumanly butchered one of his beſt friends and braveſt captains, on the return of reaſon he began to conceive an horror ſuitable to the guilt of ſuch a murder. In this juncture, his council came to his aſſiſtance. But what did his council? They found him out a philoſopher who gave him comfort. And in what manner did this philoſopher comfort him for the loſs of ſuch a man, and heal his conſcience, flagrant with the ſmart of ſuch a crime? You have the matter at length in PLUTARCH. He told him, *that let a ſovereign do what he will, all his actions are juſt and lawful, becauſe they are his.* The palaces of all princes abound with ſuch courtly philoſophers. The conſequence was ſuch as might be expected. He grew every day a monſter more abandoned to unnatural luſt, to debauchery, to drunkenneſs, and to murder. And yet this was originally a great man, of uncommon capacity, and a ſtrong propenſity to virtue. But unbounded power proceeds ſtep by ſtep, until it has eradicated every laudable principle. It has been remarked, that there is no prince ſo bad, whoſe favorites and miniſters are not worſe. There is hardly any prince without a favorite, by whom he is governed in as arbitrary a manner as he governs the wretches ſubjected to him. Here the tyranny is doubled. There are two courts, and two intereſts; both very different from the intereſts of the people.

The favorite knows that the regard of a tyrant is as inconſtant and capricious as that of a woman; and concluding his time to be ſhort, he makes haſte to fill up the meaſure of his iniquity, in rapine, in luxury, and in revenge. Every avenue to the throne is ſhut up. *He oppreſſes and ruins the people, while he perſuades the prince, that thoſe murmurs raiſed by his own oppreſſion are the effects of diſaffection to the prince's government.* Then is the natural violence of deſpotiſm inflamed and aggravated by hatred and revenge. *To deſerve well of the ſtate is a crime againſt the prince. To be popular, and to be a traitor, are conſidered as ſynonymous terms.* Even virtue is dangerous, as an aſpiring quality, that claims an eſteem by itſelf, and independent of the countenance of the court. What has been ſaid of the chief, is true of the inferior officers of this ſpecies of government, each in his province exerciſing the ſame tyranny, and grinding the people by an oppreſſion, the more ſeverely felt, as it is near them, and exerciſed by baſe and ſubordinate perſons. For the groſs of the people,---they are conſidered as *a mere herd of cattle*, [a milder phraſe than *the ſwiniſh multitude*] and really in a little time become no better: all principle of honeſt pride,---all ſenſe of the dignity of their nature is loſt in their ſlavery. The day, ſays HOMER, which makes a man a ſlave, takes away half his worth; and in fact, he loſes every impulſe, but that low and baſe one of fear.---In this kind of government, human nature is not only abuſed and inſulted, but it is actuctally degraded and ſunk into a ſpecies of brutality. The conſideration of this made Mr. LOCKE ſay, with great juſtice, that a government of this kind was worſe than anarchy. Here then we have the acknowledgment of a great philoſopher, that an irregular ſtate of nature is preferable to ſuch a government: we have the conſent of all ſenſible and generous men, who carry

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it yet further, and avow that death itſelf is preferable: and yet this ſpecies of government, ſo juſtly condemned, and ſo generally deteſted, is what infinitely the greater part of mankind groan under, and have groaned under from the beginning. So that by ſure and unconteſted principles, the greateſt part of the governments on earth muſt be concluded *tyrannies, impoſtures, violations of the natural rights of mankind, and worſe than the moſt diſorderly anarchy.*"

The abuſes of *ariſtocracy*, and of *democracy*, are deſcribed with equal force. The former is ſaid to differ from a *deſpotiſm* but in name, the people being, to all intents and purpoſes, as much ſlaves, when twenty, independent of them, govern, as when but one domineers. The tyranny is even more felt, as every individual of the nobles has the haughtineſs of a ſultan:---the people are more miſerable, as they ſeem on the verge of liberty, from which they are for ever debarred:---this fallacious idea of liberty, while it preſents a vain ſhadow of happineſs to the ſubject, binds faſter the chains of his ſubjection. What is left undone by the natural avarice and pride of thoſe who are raiſed above the others is completed by their ſuſpicion, and their dread of loſing an authority, which has no ſupport in the common utility of the nation. *Democracy* holds out the appearance of greater advantages, becauſe the people there make their own laws, tranſact the greater part of public buſineſs in their own perſons, and can call their officers to account for any breach of truſt, or failure of duty. But if we refer to the hiſtories of the moſt celebrated republics, we ſhall find every one of them to be a tiſſue of raſhneſs, folly, ingratitude, injuſtice, tumult, violence, and tyranny.

In reply to a very prevailing opinion, that the errors of the ſeveral ſimple modes of government may be corrected by a mix-

ture of all of them, and a proper balance of their reſpective powers, it is obſerved, firſt, that the junction of regal, ariſtocratic, and popular power would form a very complex, nice, and intricate machine; which, being compoſed of ſuch a variety of parts, with ſuch oppoſite tendencies and movements, muſt be liable to diſorder from every accident. A ſyſtem of this kind would give riſe to frequent cabals, tumults, and revolutions. Secondly, the impoſſibility of determining the diſtinct rights of the ſeveral conſtituent parts would prove a new and conſtant ſource of debate and confuſion. Inſtead of carrying on the buſineſs of government, the queſtion would be, who had a right to exerciſe this or that function of it. And, during ſuch conteſts, all ſorts of villainy in office would remain unpuniſhed,---the greateſt frauds and robberies in the public revenues would remain unpuniſhed,---and abuſes grow by time and impunity into cuſtoms, until they preſcribed againſt the laws, and became too inveterate often to admit a cure, or ſuch only as might be as bad as the diſeaſe. "Thirdly," continues our plauſible declaimer, "the ſeveral parts of this ſpecies of government, though united, preſerve the ſpirit which each form has ſeparately. Kings are ambitious; the nobility haughty; and the populace tumultuous and ungovernable. Each party, however in appearance peaceable, carries on a deſign upon the others; and it is owing to this, that in all queſtions, whether concerning foreign or domeſtic affairs, the whole generally turns more upon ſome party-matter than upon the nature of the thing itſelf; whether ſuch a ſtep will diminiſh or augment the power of the crown, or how far the privileges of the ſubject are like to be extended or reſtricted by it. And theſe queſtions are conſtantly reſolved, without any conſideration of the merits of the cauſe, merely as the parties who uphold theſe jarring intereſts may chance to prevail;

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and as they prevail, the balance is overſet, now upon one ſide, now upon the other. The government is, one day, arbitrary power in a ſingle perſon; another, a juggling confederacy of a few to cheat the prince and enſlave the people; and the third, a frantic and unmanageable democracy. The great inſtrument of all theſe changes, and what infuſes a peculiar venom into all of them, is party. *It is of no conſequence what the principles of any party, or what their pretenſions are: the ſpirit which actuates all parties is the ſame,---the ſpirit of ambition, of ſelf-intereſt, of oppreſſion, and treachery.*"

After ſome alluſions to the hiſtory of England, accompanied with a few ſtrictures on the violence and ferocity of the early ages, and on the leſs glaring effects of modern policy, ſuch as corruption, venality, the contempt of honour, the oblivion of all duty to our country, and the moſt abandoned public proſtitution, the writer inveighs againſt the perverſion of juſtice, the delay and uncertainty of the law, and the tendency of all governments to reduce men into two claſſes, the poor and the rich, the whole buſineſs of the poor being to adminiſter to the idleneſs, folly, and luxury of the rich, and that of the rich, in return, being to find the beſt methods of confirming the ſlavery and increaſing the burthens of the poor. "In a ſtate of nature it is an invariable law that a man's acquiſitions are in proportion to his labours: in a ſtate of artificial ſociety, it is a law as conſtant and as invariable, that thoſe who labour moſt enjoy the feweſt things; and that thoſe who labour not at all, have the greateſt number of enjoyments." He concludes with ſumming up all his arguments, as if to make a full and ſtrong impreſſion on the reader's mind; yet contrives to diſcover, without entirely throwing off the maſk, that he is not in earneſt, and that his chief deſign,

ſign, in this imitation of BOLINGBROKE, is to ſhew the extravagance of that noble writer's philoſophical theories. "If after all," ſays he, "you ſhould confeſs all theſe things, yet plead the neceſſity of political inſtitutions, weak and wicked as they are, I can argue with equal, perhaps ſuperior force, concerning the neceſſity of artificial religion; and every ſtep you advance in your argument, you add a ſtrength to mine. So that if we are reſolved to ſubmit our reaſon and our liberty to civil uſurpation, we have nothing to do but to conform as quietly as we can to the vulgar notions which are connected with this, and take up the theology of the vulgar as well as their politics. But if we think this neceſſity rather imaginary than real, we ſhould renounce their dreams of ſociety, together with their viſions of religion, and vindicate ourſelves into perfect liberty."

Conſidered as a ſportive exerciſe of genius, or even as a ſerious attempt to leſſen the number of BOLINGBROKE's admirers, the "Vindication of natural Society" did not meet with ſuch a reception as its author had a right to expect. It almoſt "fell *dead-born* from the preſs," without provoking cenſure, or exciting any warm teſtimonies of approbation. This failure of ſucceſs in the firſt experiment did not diſcourage Mr. BURKE from publiſhing, in the courſe of the ſame year, his "Inquiry into the origin of our ideas of the ſublime and beautiful." No ſubject could be better choſen to attract regard, and to exhibit the various powers and accompliſhments of the writer in the ſtrongeſt and faireſt light. Under the ſhew of the moſt inſinuating modeſty, propoſing his notions "merely as probable conjectures," he endeavoured to eſtabliſh a new ſtandard for deciding on the moſt admired productions of nature and art;—to point out and diſpel the confuſion of our ideas, which had rendered all former reaſoning on the ſubject

ject extremely inaccurate;—to lay down an exact theory of the paſſions;—and, from a critical ſurvey of the properties of things, by which thoſe paſſions were known to be principally affected, to deduce ſuch rules as might be applied to the imitative arts, and to whatever elſe they concerned, without much difficulty. The very title given to this performance ſeemed to challenge an immediate compariſon with LONGINUS's Treatiſe on the Sublime, and ADDISON's Eſſays on Beauty, Novelty, and Grandeur. The ſentence of the beſt judges was very flattering to Mr. BURKE. His name, indeed, did not appear to the work; but the author was univerſally allowed to have ſurpaſſed LONGINUS in preciſion, and ADDISON in depth and comprehenſiveneſs, while he united the peculiar excellencies of both, the animation and dignity of the one, the ſimplicity and elegance of the other. A ſecond edition appeared in 1757, with an "Introductory Diſcourſe concerning Taſte," and ſeveral other improvements. He afterwards made a few valuable additions to the work; and he certainly would have conferred a laſting favor on the admirers of polite literature, had he, when he withdrew from parliament, adhered to his own reſolution, never more to ruſh forward into ſcenes of political ſtrife and controverſy, but to employ his leiſure hours in giving ſome finiſhing touches to this early production of his genius,---in impreſſing upon it the ſtamp of maturity,---in adorning it with the ſilver honours of age.

Mr. BURKE ſoon began to derive more ſubſtantial advantages than mere applauſe from his Eſſay on the Sublime and Beautiful. His father, who always had a favorable, though not a ſufficiently enlarged idea of young EDMUND's abilities, was ſo enraptured at this extraordinary proof of them, that he immediately ſent him one hundred pounds, to extricate him out of ſome pecuniary embarraſſments

barraſſments which he keenly felt at that time. This mark of paternal affection will be found more worthy of notice, if we conſider the ſcantineſs of the father's income, which entirely depended on his practice as an attorney, and was barely ſufficient for the decent ſupport of the reſt of his family. Joy, pride, gratitude, filial love, all the ſtrongeſt and moſt pleaſing emotions were excited in EDMUND's breaſt. He ſaw his debts paid off, and by a fond father, as the reward of his well-exerted talents. He found alſo no inconſiderable reſource in the rapid ſale of the book; while it afforded him an eaſy introduction to the beſt company. Mr. afterwards Sir JOSHUA REYNOLDS, Dr. JOHNSON, and Dr. GOLDSMITH, one of Mr. BURKE's former fellow ſtudents at Trinity College, were among the firſt who cultivated his acquaintance in London. The reputation of GOLDSMITH and JOHNSON reſts on the firmeſt foundations; but Sir JOSHUA's literary fame owed not only its ſupport but its very exiſtence to Mr. BURKE. It was fortunate for the latter that Sir JOSHUA's ambition was not confined to the attainment of excellence in his own art, for which nature had eminently qualified him, but aſpired to the higher ſphere of eloquence, though he could riſe to it only by borrowed wings. After reading the Eſſay on the Sublime and Beautiful, he eagerly ſought out the author, and endeavoured to ſecure his friendſhip. Sir JOSHUA's houſe was then, and continued to be, the favorite reſort of men of merit. All were received with politeneſs and hoſpitality; but Mr. BURKE experienced the moſt flattering attention. Frequent intercourſe left no doubt in Sir JOSHUA's mind, that the man who had written ſo well on the principles of the elegant arts in general, was beſt qualified to diſplay the utmoſt refinement of taſte, and brilliancy of genius in diſſertations on painting in particular. T heunbounded

bounded admiration, with which Sir JOSHUA's diſcourſes were afterwards heard, and are ſtill read by the whole world, ſhews how judicious and happy he was in his choice of an aſſiſtant. It has hitherto been kept a ſecret not only from the public, but from the private friends of both, that thoſe diſcourſes were the production of Mr. BURKE's pen. This truth we ſhall fully illuſtrate, when we come to give an account of the inſtitution of the Royal Academy. We ſhall then tranſplant the laurel to the proper tomb; and hope that neither Mr. COURTENAY, Lord CARLISLE, nor Mr. MALONE, will be offended at our doing juſtice to the memories of the dead, and at our adorning the buſt of Mr. BURKE with that beautiful wreath, which they, from miſtake, have twined round another brow.

In tracing the immediate effects and the remoter conſquences of the Eſſay on the Sublime and Beautiful, we find that it threw open to Mr. BURKE the door both of fame and fortune: it made ample amends for the neglect into which his firſt publication had fallen; and encouraged ſtill bolder experiments than thoſe of imitation or of criticiſm. He directed his thoughts to hiſtory and politics. He had before his eyes two or three ſtriking inſtances of writers, who, by theſe means, were riſing into eminence. The attention of the literary world was then fixed upon HUME's Hiſtory of the Houſe of Tudor, and Dr. ROBERTSON's Hiſtory of the Reign of MARY, Queen of Scots, and her ſon JAMES, till his acceſſion to the throne of England. Many of the ſame ſubjects having been touched upon by the two hiſtorians led to a direct, an immediate compariſon of their reſpective merits. All men of candour and judgment readily allowed, that the philoſophic dignity, the logical diſpoſition, the force of diction, the juſt concatenation of circumſtances, the lively pictures of manners,

the comprehenſive, yet diſtinct views of the intereſts of nations and the intrigues of courts, independent of the valuable diſquiſitions, which ſo eminently diſtinguiſh Mr. HUME's work, were at leaſt a balance for the claſſical purity of ſtile, the happy ſelection of incidents, the keen diſcernment of motives, and the fine delineation of character no leſs conſpicuous in the other, and which render the Hiſtory of MARY one of the moſt captivating books in our language. Mr. BURKE admired the diverſity of their talents, but did not loſe in that admiration the conſciouſneſs of his own. His emotions on reading the works of HUME and ROBERTSON very much reſembled thoſe of CORREGIO, who, after examining RAPHAEL's maſterpiece with ſilent rapture, at length exclaimed, "Ed io anche ſono pittore"—*And I, too, am a Painter.*

Animated by this ſentiment, he began to write memoirs of his own times; and having laid a ſketch of his plan before the elder DODSLEY, he received from that diſcerning and ſpirited bookſeller the moſt liberal encouragement to carry it into execution. "The Annual Regiſter for the year 1758" accordingly made its appearance; and it is but a faint echo of the national voice to aſſert, that no periodical work had ever before been preſented to the world in ſo maſterly, ſo intereſting a form, or had ſo well deſerved the applauſe it every where met with. The beams of public favor did not relax, but invigorate, the writer's efforts; and for more than thirty years the increaſe of merit and the increaſe of reputation were kept up by the continual diſplay of new and extraordinary powers. In the year 1789, Mr. BURKE declined this taſk, and transferred it to other hands. Dr. LAURENCE, the reverend Dr. KING, Mr. INGLISH, and two or three ſubordinate writers, have ſince compiled the Annual Regiſter.

giſter. Some of them are, no doubt, men of learning and induſtry; but they appear to great diſadvantage, when compared with the former editor. Among the beautiful and inſtructive fictions of antiquity, we are told that ATLAS, tired of ſupporting the heavens on his ſhoulders, was happy in finding HERCULES able to relieve him from the load. The public would deem it no leſs ſingular and fortunate, if any hero in modern literature could be found to raiſe the falling Regiſter, and to ſuſtain with firmneſs and dignity that weight of character which was once annexed to it by the talents of a BURKE.

As we muſt ſoon prepare to accompany this gentleman from his cloſet to the ſenate, let us pauſe for a moment, and take a view of him in private life, before we examine his conduct on the great theatre of the nation. In every circle where he appeared, an intereſting ſweetneſs and ſenſibility of countenance diſpoſed even ſtrangers to form at firſt ſight a favorable idea of his character; and this impreſſion was afterwards ſtrengthened by the delicacy of his behaviour, and the numberleſs charms of his converſation. He was not, indeed, remarkable for a dignity of aſpect, nor did any lightning ever flaſh from his eye; but though he wanted thoſe external marks of an elevated ſoul, or of the commanding orator, he poſſeſſed the ſofter graces of good humour and ſerenity. It was the claſh of parliamentary debate and the violent collifions of party, which afterwards ſtruck out the latent fire of his ſoul, and betrayed thoſe fatal weakneſſes, that extreme irritability of temper, that uncontrolled and almoſt frantic vehemence of paſſion, which became the cauſe of ſuch frequent vexation to his friends, and expoſed him ſo often to the attacks of his enemies. Before the commencement of his political warfare, nothing but the milk of good nature ſeemed to flow from.

his lips: he replied to the harſheſt contradictions in a tone of ſoft perſuaſion: he heard impertinence and abſurdity without a frown. Maſter of every ſtile from BOLINGBROKE to BUNYAN, his language was always ſuited to the occaſion. The richneſs of his fancy enabled him to ſcatter flowers over a barren ſubject, while the ſallies of his wit enabled him to enliven the moſt ſerious diſcuſſions. It cannot be a matter of juſt ſurpriſe, much leſs of reproach, that low images and ſtrokes of vulgar pleaſantry were ſometimes found in the exuberance of his entertaining remarks. Inſtead of expreſſing an ill-natured diſguſt at ſuch little blemiſhes, we ſhould rather compare the impetuous ruſh of his ideas to the rapidity of Peruvian torrents, which, in waſhing down gold from the tops of the mountains, mingle the precious ore with common ſand.

A few ſpecimens will ſufficiently illuſtrate the fairneſs of this mode of criticiſm. Among a variety of keen obſervations on the cauſes of the degeneracy of our modern nobility, Mr. Burke pointed out the profligate, unnerving debauchery of high life, adding, "that it was no wonder the iſſue of the marriage-bed ſhould be puny and degenerate, when children were formed out of *the rinſing of the bottles.*"—At another time, on hearing the treaties by which we were bound to prevent the opening of the navigation of the Scheldt urged by miniſters as the oſtenſible reaſon for going to war with the French, "a war about the Scheldt!" exclaimed the orator, "*a war about a chamber-pot!*" The force and juſtneſs of ſuch very odd figures muſt, however, be acknowledged even by thoſe who may cenſure their indelicacy. We are alſo more inclined to pardon the occaſional ſtoops of genius, when we ſee it often give dignity or elegance to the loweſt ſpecies of wit. CICERO himſelf was fond of puns; yet there

there are none of his upon record, to which the following, by Mr. BURKE, may not be oppoſed without any fear of their ſinking in the compariſon.

The celebrated Mrs. PAYNE, of whom Mr. ERSKINE ingeniouſly obſerved, that "he never knew pleaſure, who did not know PAYNE," once aſked Mr. BURKE the Engliſh of "*Mons Veneris?*" —He replied, with the utmoſt preſence of mind, and in a fine ſtrain of compliment and gallantry, "*Payne's Hill*, Madam."

It is well known that ſir G—— Y——, though ſo long in poſſeſſion of a very lucrative office, had frequently an execution in his houſe. The perſon of a member of parliament is ſacred; but his creditors may ſeize his effects, and not even leave him a ſtool to ſit upon. During an unwelcome viſit from one of the ſheriff's myrmidons, ſir G—— found himſelf much indiſpoſed. A friend of his mentioning his bad ſtate of health to Mr. BURKE, "no wonder, poor man!" replied the latter; "for, I am told, he has not had *a ſtool* this fortnight."

Is there any of CICERO's ſatirical puns half ſo ſevere as Mr. BURKE's on the word *majeſty*, for which he did not always profeſs the ſame reverence as of late? In a converſation on the ſubject with Dr. BEATTIE, "Ah! Doctor," ſaid he, "ſtrip MAJESTY of its exteriors," [the firſt and laſt letters] "and it becomes A JEST." Let it not be ſuppoſed that we mean by theſe quotations to give importance to quibbles, or to encourage witlings in the habit of diſguſting well-bred company with their ſilly conceits, and eternal play upon words. We are only pleading for ſome little indulgence to the ſportive ſallies of a great man, deſcending from the higheſt ſpheres of eloquence, and infuſing a portion of his vivacity into familiar converſation.

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As to the moral part of Mr. BURKE's character, it appeared for a long time to be pure and unſpotted. Enjoying at home all the ſweets of conjugal love, he never roved abroad in purſuit of vicious pleaſure. Even before marriage, there are very few preſumptions of his having given way to the ſtrong propenſities of youth. About ten years ago, an Iriſhman, in that ſort of garb where poverty is but half concealed under the threadbare ſhew of gentility, and ſomewhat older in appearance than the eldeſt of Mr. BURKE's legitimate children, called at his houſe in Gerrard Street, claiming from him the protection of a father, and offering to produce ſatisfactory teſtimonials in ſupport of that claim. Mr. BURKE not being at home when this perſon firſt called, the latter gave ſome hints of his buſineſs to the ſervant, and declared his intention to return next day. As Mr. BURKE ſeemed unwilling to examine thoſe ſtrange pretenſions, his brother RICHARD appeared for him, and was obliged to hold out the terrors of a conſtable, and the more immediate menace of a horſewhip, before he could drive the bold applicant out of the houſe. It is certainly as fair to ſuppoſe that the whole was the contrivance of an impudent and indigent adventurer, as that Mr. BURKE left behind him in his native country any living memorial of his amorous purſuits.

Mr. BURKE's enemies have alſo mentioned with a ſort of malignant pleaſure the habit of familiar intercourſe in which he lived with the celebrated PEG WOFFINGTON, and her early recommendation of him to the duke of NEWCASTLE, then at the head of the treaſury. But it is well known that the company of that lovely actreſs was not leſs eagerly courted by men of wit and genius, than by men of gallantry or intrigue; and that the charms of her converſation were ſtill more faſcinating than the attractions

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of her beauty. May not the ſweet interchange of mental pleaſure have been the foundation of her eſteem for Mr. BURKE? May we not aſcribe to ſo honourable and generous a motive the exertion of her perſonal influence in his favor?

But even thoſe who may queſtion Mr. BURKE's chaſtity have no reproach to bring againſt him for the exceſſes into which an unbounded ſpirit of hoſpitality is too apt to betray many of his countrymen. It would be difficult to point out an individual more remarkable for his temperance; and though at the feſtive or convivial board he yielded to none in chearfulneſs and mirth, yet neither the example nor the perſuaſions of others could ever tempt him to overſtep the nice limits of ſobriety. In love, the torch of Hymen illumined his ſteps: in company, he poured the ſocial, yet temperate libation to the God of the vintage.

At that period of Mr. BURKE's life which we are now deſcribing, nobody could well ſuſpect him of meanneſs or diſhoneſty. The ſcantineſs of his fortune, the uncertainty of his ſupplies, the want of a regular profeſſion, that of the law having been relinquiſhed on account of his bad ſtate of health, not only prevented him from being generous, but did not always leave it in his power to be juſt; and, what was ſtill worſe, expoſed him to the allurements of thoſe who were able and willing to bribe his talents into their ſervice. Yet, in matters of private concern, he wanted no other plea than the impulſe of diſtreſs, or the offer of liberal reward; and his friends were firmly perſuaded that the moment he aſſumed a public character, he would ſupport it with incorruptible integrity;---that nothing could tempt him to deſert his principles;---that he would prefer virtuous poverty to the wages of proſtitution;---and that, if reduced to the moſt trying alternative, he would rather wear the badge of a pariſh than the

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badge of apoſtacy. What a pity that before the cloſe of life he ſhould have forfeited our high opinion of his ſuppoſed virtues! How mortifying it muſt be to his former admirers to diſcover at laſt in his boſom a heart impregnated with the worſt ſpirit of envy, rancour, ingratitude, perſecution, venality, and avarice! After diſplaying ſo much at large the favorable ſide of the picture, it was impoſſible to avoid taking as it were by anticipation a glance at the fatal reverſe.—But let us return to the detail of facts, and proceed from the opening of his political career.

It was not till the year 1761, the very year in which PEG WOFFINGTON died, that her recommendation of Mr. BURKE to the duke of NEWCASTLE produced any effect in the orator's favor. A very inviting offer was then made him to accompany Mr. HAMILTON to Ireland, where he rendered ſome eſſential ſervices to that gentleman and to government. Even the effects of Mr. HAMILTON's ſpeeches in the Iriſh ſenate were aſcribed to Mr. BURKE; but though he probably ſuggeſted many good hints, and ſome of the moſt perſuaſive arguments, there is little reaſon to believe that he reviſed the language of thoſe famous orations, as the ſtile of the two ſpeakers was ſo very diſſimilar. From the moment that BURKE felt his own conſequence, he could not reſtrain his propenſity to give the law. His employers not being always willing to obey his dictates, a miſunderſtanding ſoon aroſe; and he returned to England, but not without having procured a penſion of three hundred pounds a year upon the Iriſh eſtabliſhment. This penſion he afterwards ſold to anſwer ſome importunate demands.

The earl of BUTE's influence in the cabinet withered for ſome time Mr. BURKE's hopes of a new engagement; but his ambition having been once rouſed, he did not ceaſe to qualify himſelf

ſelf for public life by aſſiduous ſtudy, and by keeping his talents in full play upon the hiſtorical part of the Annual Regiſter. His leiſure hours were agreeaby ſpent among his literary friends, a ſelect party of whom formed themſelves into a club in the year 1764, and regularly met one evening every week at the Turk's Head in Gerrard-ſtreet. Sir JOSHUA REYNOLDS had the merit of being the firſt propoſer of that aſſociation, in which he was joined by Mr. BURKE, Dr. JOHNSON, Dr. GOLDSMITH, Dr. NUGENT, Mr. BEAUCLERK, Mr. LANGTON, Mr. CHAMIER, and ſir JOHN HAWKINS. Other perſons were ſoon eager to obtain admiſſion; but beſides the ſelect meetings in Gerrard-ſtreet, larger parties, not confined to the members of the literary club, uſed frequently to aſſemble, and ſpend their evenings at the Shakeſpeare Tavern, and at the St. James's Coffee-houſe. Here it was, a few years after, that Dr. GOLDSMITH's well-known oddities having made him the butt of ſome poignant ſtrokes of humour, he, by way of ſportive revenge, wrote that pleaſant little poem, entitled "Retaliation," in which a ſketch is given of the gentlemen who had provoked it. The poem opens thus:

"Of old, when SCARRON his companions invited,
"Each gueſt brought his diſh, and the feaſt was united:
"If our landlord ſupplies us with beef, and with fiſh,
"Let each gueſt bring himſelf, and he brings the beſt diſh."

In this aſſortment of characteriſtical diſhes, it is happily ſaid of the orator,

"Our BURKE ſhall be tongue, with a garniſh of brains."

After enumerating the other diſhes, and deſcribing himſelf as "a gooſeberry fool," the poet exclaims,

"At a dinner ſo various, at ſuch a repaſt,
"Who'd not be a glutton, and ſtick to the laſt?

" Here, waiter, more wine—let me ſit while I'm able,
" Till all my companions ſink under the table:
" Then with chaos and blunders encircling my head,
" Let me ponder, and tell what I think of the dead."

BURKE's imaginary epitaph is very highly finiſhed, though many other parts of the poem bear evident marks of haſte and imperfection, the ingenious author not having lived to reviſe it.

" Here lies our good EDMUND, whoſe genius was ſuch,
" We ſcarcely can praiſe it, or blame it too much;
" Who, born for the univerſe, narrow'd his mind,
" And to party gave up what was meant for mankind.
" Tho' fraught with all learning, yet ſtraining his throat,
" To perſuade Tommy Townſend to lend him a vote:
" Who, too deep for his hearers, ſtill went on refining,
" And thought of convincing, while they thought of dining:
" Tho' equal to all things, for all things unfit,
" Too nice for a ſtateſman, too proud for a wit;
" For a patriot too cool; for a drudge, diſobedient;
" And too fond of the *right* to purſue the *expedient*.
" In ſhort, 'twas his fate, unemploy'd, or in place, Sir,
" To eat mutton cold, and cut blocks with a razor."

Thoſe, who were intimately acquainted with Mr. BURKE during the firſt ſix or eight years of his public life, could not but acknowledge that the leading features were hit off in this ſketch with equal fidelity and humour. But time often produces or diſcovers the moſt aſtoniſhing changes in the inward character, as well as the outward form. Had he ſat for his picture twenty years after,* and had the likeneſs been drawn by the pencil of Truth, it would ſeem a frightful caricature of every former portrait of the ſame individual.

* Goldſmith's ſketch appeared in 1774.

" Retaliation"

"Retaliation" occaſioned a variety of replies and ſupplements from ſuch of the members of the club as were moſt diſtinguiſhed for their wit and poetical talents. Mr. GARRICK's "*Jeu d'Eſprit*" on the ſubject has been much admired for its epigrammatic point and conciſeneſs.

"Are theſe the choice diſhes the Doctor has ſent us?
"Is this the great poet whoſe works ſo content us?
"This GOLDSMITH's fine feaſt, who has written fine books?
"*Heaven* ſends us good *meat*—but the *Devil ſends cooks.*"

Mr. BURKE, though one of the moſt prominent in the groupe of figures, did not draw his pen in this conteſt of genius and pleaſantry. He knew his own powers too well to riſk his reputation in verſe; and while others thought him poſſeſſed of every requiſite to form a great poet, he was conſcious that he could not riſe above mediocrity in that ſphere, and therefore declined the attempt. It is probable, that, like CICERO, he made ſome eſſays in early youth; but, like the Roman orator, had too much wiſdom to perſevere in counteracting the purpoſes of nature. What greatly ſtrengthens this conjecture is, that we have now before us ſome tranſlations of his from the Erſe; and though all the reſt is in proſe, the following lines of poetry are introduced in one of the dialogues:

PATRICK, having confeſſed that USHIN's voice is muſic to his ear, conjures him, at the ſame time, *not to tell lies.* To this USHIN makes anſwer,

"Lies I ne'er told, nor am I uſed to lie:—
"With ſtrength of arm,—with fearleſs energy,—
"And not with lies, I face the enemy."

This is the only genuine ſpecimen of Mr. BURKE's poetry which we have in our poſſeſſion; but his proſe tranſlations from

the Erſe are very numerous; and as they are much interlined and corrected in his own hand-writing, it is plain that he viewed them with peculiar fondneſs. He often declared to an intimate friend, that thoſe old ſtories and fictions, with their wild luxuriance, tended more to enrich his fancy than all the finiſhed productions of modern times.---But we muſt now turn to matters of more ſerious and more important inveſtigation.

In July 1765, the king, having reſolved to diſmiſs the earl of BUTE's ſucceſſors from office, requeſted the duke of CUMBERLAND to treat with the leading members of the oppoſition. The offers made to them by his royal highneſs, though declined by Mr. PITT and lord TEMPLE, were accepted by the marquis of ROCKINGHAM, the duke of NEWCASTLE, and their friends. The marquis was appointed firſt lord of the treaſury, and the duke obtained the privy ſeal, a place of eaſe well ſuited to his years, and yet of honour and confidence, of which his grace had ever been extremely ambitious. While the arrangements were making out, he expreſſed to a few confidential friends the utmoſt anxiety to carry his favorite point; and having left them in his drawing-room to wait the iſſue of the negotiation, he quickly returned, and dancing round them with childiſh levity and tranſport, he cried out, "I've got the ſeals!!!"---"I've got the ſeals!!!"--- General CONWAY, who the year before had been diſmiſſed the ſervice for voting againſt the court in the debate on general warrants, and the duke of GRAFTON, were made ſecretaries of ſtate. The marquis of ROCKINGHAM being then in want of a private ſecretary, Mr. FITZHERBERT, father to the preſent lord ST. HELENS, took Mr. BURKE by the hand, and introduced him to the marquis as not only well qualified for ſuch an appointment, but eminently deſerving his lordſhip's confidence and eſteem.

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The vacancy was immediately filled up; and Mr. BURKE was ſoon after choſen a repreſentative for the borough of Wendover, through the intereſt of lord VERNEY. The marquis, on being made acquainted with his ſtraitened circumſtances, lent him twenty-three thouſand pounds on his bond, either from a motive of delicacy to leſſen the preſſure of ſo weighty a gift on a grateful mind, or, in conformity to the maxims of political caution, with a view of keeping a powerful check on the poſſible baſeneſs or deſertion of a man whom he had not yet ſufficiently tried.

Fortune ſeemed now inclined to make Mr. BURKE ample atonement for her paſt caprice, and for the ſtate of painful ſuſpenſe in which ſhe had long kept him. The uncommon liberality of the marquis enabled him to ſatisfy ſome troubleſome creditors, and to purchaſe the elegant ſeat near Beaconsfield, at the ſight of which Dr. JOHNSON very aptly made uſe of the words of MELIBŒUS,

Non equidem invides—miror magis!

"I envy not your fortune—but admire!"

Mr. BURKE had alſo an opportunity of ſerving thoſe whom he held moſt dear. His brother RICHARD was appointed collector of Grenada; and his intimate friend and relation, Mr. WILLIAM BURKE, was made under-ſecretary to general CONWAY, and was brought into parliament as member for Bedwin in Wiltſhire.

In addition to theſe gratifications, the aſpiring orator and ſtateſman was now placed on that conſpicuous theatre, which gave full ſcope to the diſplay of all his powers, and which had been for many years the fond object of his warmeſt wiſhes. Even the weight and magnitude of the concerns of government at that juncture, under which a man of inferior ability muſt have ſunk, only

only afforded Mr. BURKE a grander opportunity of ſhewing the vigor of his mind, and the fertility of his reſources. The ſtamp-act had lately thrown America into a flame. Every day brought alarming intelligence of the determined oppoſition of the people to that impolitic and arbitrary meaſure. The effects of their reſiſtance were quickly felt by the mother country. Her manufactures were at a ſtand: the principal ſources of her commerce were cut off: great numbers of men were thrown out of employment; while proviſions became extravagantly dear; and public credit received a dreadful ſhock by the total ſtoppage of remittances from the colonies.

Such circumſtances muſt have rendered the ſituation of the new miniſtry very critical. Surrounded with difficulties,—many of them young in office,—and without having had ſufficient time to ſecure the confidence of either the ſovereign or the people, they had to decide upon a queſtion of the utmoſt delicacy and magnitude; and they foreſaw, that, whatever line they might reſolve to purſue, they ſhould meet with a formidable oppoſition. They knew that the framers and ſupporters of the ſtamp-act, who certainly formed a very numerous party, would ſtrenuouſly exert themſelves in the vindication of their own meaſures, and would inſiſt on the policy and neceſſity of quelling, at the very outſet, the daring reſiſtance of the coloniſts to the legiſlative authority of Great Britain. They were alſo aware that Mr. PITT and his adherents would carry the contrary doctrine to a pitch of almoſt enthuſiaſtic extravagance, and would contend for the abſolute ſurrender or diſavowal of the right of taxing the Americans. In a private conference on the ſubject between the marquis of ROCKINGHAM and his ſecretary, Mr. BURKE gave it as his opinion, "that it was ſafeſt for the miniſtry to chuſe a middle

middle courſe between theſe oppoſite extremes, and neither to precipitate affairs with the coloniſts by the raſhneſs of their councils, nor to ſacrifice the dignity of the crown or nation by irreſolution or weakneſs." The marquis concurred in this opinion, and requeſted Mr. BURKE to draw up, before the meeting of parliament, a plan in conformity to thoſe general principles.

But no ſooner were the intentions of the new miniſtry explained in the cabinet than intrigues for diſmiſſing them were entered into by the trained bands of the court, and their inviſible director the earl of BUTE, who was compared by the late king of Pruſſia to one of thoſe evil ſpirits ſo frequently talked of, but never ſeen; and who, from the dark retreat of conſcious guilt and ſkulking cowardice, regulated all the ſprings that put the ſtate machine in motion. There is ſome reaſon to ſuſpect, that CHARLES TOWNSHEND, who afterwards became chancellor of the Exchequer, was acquainted with thoſe cabals; for being one day aſked what he thought of the new miniſtry, he replied, "a *luteſtring* adminiſtration—it may laſt the ſummer out, but it will never do for winter." In his figurative calculation of time he was, however, miſtaken. The marquis firmly maintained his ground both ſummer and winter, the honeſt *broadcloth of whiggiſm* being proof againſt the burning influence of the one, and the tempeſtuous fury of the other. BUTE and his agents were obliged to defer a little longer the execution of their malignant purpoſes.

Parliament met on the 17th of December, in order to iſſue writs for the vacancies which had been made by the change of the miniſtry; and then adjourned to the 14th of January 1766, for the diſpatch of buſineſs. In the ſpeech from the throne the American affairs were pointed out to both houſes as the principal object of their deliberations. The uſual motion for an addreſs

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gave riſe to a warm debate, chiefly occaſioned by ſome digreſſive remarks on the ſtamp-act, and ſome cenſures on the miniſtry for not having given earlier notice to parliament of the diſturbances in America. It was in this debate that Mr. BURKE made his firſt ſpeech, which afforded ſo brilliant a ſpecimen of his oratorical powers, that Mr. PITT complimented him upon it in very flattering terms. But though Mr. PITT was liberal of his applauſe to the eloquent ſupporter of the new miniſtry, he was very ſparing of his confidence in them. "Pardon me, gentlemen," ſaid he, bowing to thoſe who were ſeated on the treaſury bench, "confidence is a plant of ſlow growth in an aged boſom: youth is the ſeaſon of credulity: by comparing events with each other, reaſoning from effects to cauſes, methinks I plainly diſcover the traces of an over-ruling influence." The ſecretary of ſtate's reply did him honour, "An over-ruling influence," ſaid Mr. CONWAY, "has been hinted at. I ſee nothing of it. I feel nothing of it. I diſclaim it for myſelf, and (as far as my diſcernment can reach) for all the reſt of his majeſty's miniſters." It is, indeed, unfortunate, that groundleſs jealouſy, that any motives of ſelfiſh ambition, or ſome ſmall ſhades of difference in political opinions, prevented Mr. PITT from cordially uniting with "men of fair character," to counteract and deſtroy that baneful influence, of which he was ſo juſtly apprehenſive, but to which alſo, moſt fatally for this country, he himſelf became afterwards a victim.

In conformity to Mr. BURKE's opinion and advice, the ſtamp-act was repealed, and a declaratory bill was paſſed to confirm and aſcertain the power of the legiſlature of Great Britain over her colonies, in all caſes whatſoever, and without any diſtinction in regard to taxation. The adviſer of theſe meaſures made no inconſiderable figure in the numberleſs debates to which they gave

gave riſe; but the beſt apology both for the repeal and for the declaratory act is to be met with in his famous ſpeech on American taxation in the year 1774. He there gives a full detail of the hiſtorical part of the buſineſs; mentions his firſt introduction to the marquis of ROCKINGHAM in a ſtrain of the moſt captivating modeſty; and vindicates the conduct of his noble patron with equal ingenuity and ardor.

"In the year ſixty-five," ſays this admirable apologiſt, "being in a very private ſtation, far from any line of buſineſs, and not having the honour of a ſeat in this houſe, it was my fortune, by the intervention of a common friend, to become connected with a very noble perſon, and at the head of the treaſury department. It was indeed in a ſituation of little rank and no conſequence, ſuitable to the mediocrity of my talents and pretenſions:---but a ſituation near enough to enable me to ſee, as well as others, what was going on; and I did ſee in that noble perſon ſuch ſound principles, ſuch an enlargement of mind, ſuch clear and ſagacious ſenſe, and ſuch unſhaken fortitude, as have bound me, as well as others much better than me, by an inviolable attachment to him from that time forward."

After theſe introductory remarks, the orator deſcribes the ſteps taken by the marquis to redreſs a grievance ariſing from the former miniſter's commercial regulations in America, which, he ſays, threatened total ruin to the Spaniſh trade; and then adds, "On the concluſion of this buſineſs, the news of the troubles, on account of the ſtamp-act, arrived in England. *** No ſooner had the ſound of that mighty tempeſt reached us, than the whole of the then oppoſition, inſtead of feeling humbled by the unhappy iſſue of their meaſures, ſeemed to be infi-

nitely elated, and cried out that the miniſtry, from envy to the glory of their predeceſſors, were prepared to repeal the ſtamp-act."---Here Mr. BURKE charges the cenſurers of the repeal with ſhifting their ground, and challenging the authors of it to ſay, whether they had come to ſuch a reſolution till a conſiderable time after the meeting of parliament? To this he anſwers, that they weighed the matter as its difficulty and importance required;—that they conſidered maturely among themſelves, and conſulted all who could give them advice, or information; in conſequence of which it was not determined till a little before the meeting of parliament; but it *was* then determined, and the main lines of their own plan marked out before that meeting. Two queſtions had ariſen; the firſt, whether the repeal ſhould be total, or only partial, taking out every thing burthenſome and productive, and reſerving only an empty acknowledgement, ſuch as a ſtamp on cards and dice? The other queſtion was, on what principle the act ſhould be repealed? On this head alſo, two principles were ſtarted; one, that the legiſlative rights of this country, with regard to America, were not entire, but had certain reſtrictions and limitations: the other, that taxes of this kind were contrary to the fundamental principles of commerce on which the colonies were founded; and contrary to every idea of political equity, by which equity we were bound as much as poſſible to extend the ſpirit and benefit of the Britiſh conſtitution to every part of the Britiſh dominions. "The option, both of the meaſure, and of the principle of repeal," continued Mr. BURKE, "was made before the ſeſſion; and I wonder how any one can read the king's ſpeech at the opening of that ſeſſion, without ſeeing in that ſpeech both the repeal and the declaratory act very ſufficiently crayoned out. Thoſe who cannot ſee this can ſee nothing."

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As the orator paſſes on to more important parts of his apology, he does not forget, in the rapidity of his career, to take notice, that the miniſtry had uſed as much diſpatch as was conſiſtent with due deliberation; and he then ſtates the reaſons which had determined their choice both of the meaſure, and its principle. "A partial repeal," ſays he, "or, as the *bon ton* of the court then was, a *modification*, would have ſatisfied a timid, unſyſtematic, procraſtinating miniſtry, as ſuch a meaſure has ſince done ſuch a miniſtry. A modification is the conſtant reſource of weak, undeciding minds. To repeal by a denial of our right to tax in the preamble (and this too did not want adviſers), would have cut, in the heroic ſtile, the Gordian knot with a ſword. Either meaſure would have coſt no more than a day's debate. But when the total repeal was adopted; and adopted on principles of policy, of equity, and of commerce; this plan made it neceſſary to enter into many and difficult meaſures. It became neceſſary to open a very large field of evidence commenſurate to theſe extenſive views. *** I think the inquiry laſted in the committee for ſix weeks; and at its concluſion this houſe, by an independent, noble, ſpirited, and unexpected majority,---by a majority that will redeem all the acts ever done by majorities in parliament,---*in the teeth of all the old mercenary Swiſs of ſtate---in deſpite of all the ſpeculators and augurs of political events,---in defiance of the whole embattled legion of veteran penſioners and practiſed inſtruments of a court, gave a total repeal to the ſtamp-act, and (if it had been ſo permitted) a laſting peace to this whole empire.*"

Theſe particulars were very judiciouſly ſtated for the purpoſe of ſhewing how inconſiſtent it would be to attribute ſuch an act of ſpirit and fortitude to timidity. "If," ſays Mr. BURKE, "the conduct of miniſtry in propoſing the repeal, had ariſen from

timidity with regard to themſelves, it would have been greatly to be condemned. Intereſted timidity diſgraces as much in the cabinet, as perſonal timidity does in the field. But timidity, with regard to the well-being of our country, is heroic virtue. The noble lord who then conducted affairs, and his worthy colleagues, whilſt they trembled at the proſpect of ſuch diſtreſſes as you have ſince brought upon yourſelves, were not afraid ſteadily to look in the face that glaring and dazzling influence at which the eyes of eagles have blenched. He looked in the face one of the ableſt, and, let me ſay, not the moſt ſcrupulous oppoſitions, that perhaps ever was in this houſe, and withſtood it, unaided by, even one of, the uſual ſupports of adminiſtration."

After ſome pointed ſtrictures on the groſs falſhood and abſurdity of a report that lord ROCKINGHAM had been bullied into the repeal by Mr. PITT, the orator concludes this head with a burſt of eloquence in praiſe of his noble patron, which has ſeldom been equalled, and never ſurpaſſed in ſublimity and beauty. "I confeſs," ſaid he, "when I look back to that time, I conſider him as placed in one of the moſt trying ſituations in which, perhaps, any man ever ſtood. In the houſe of peers there were very few of the miniſtry, out of the noble lord's own particular connexion, (except lord EGMONT, who acted, as far as I could diſcern, an honourable and manly part,) that did not look to ſome other future arrangement, which warped his politics. There were in both houſes new and menacing appearances, that might very naturally drive any other, than a moſt reſolute miniſter, from his meaſure or from his ſtation. The houſehold troops openly revolted. The allies of miniſtry (thoſe, I mean, who ſupported ſome of their meaſures, but refuſed reſponſibility for any) endeavoured to undermine their credit, and to take ground that muſt be

be fatal to the ſucceſs of the very cauſe which they would be thought to countenance. The queſtion of the repeal was brought on by miniſtry in the committee of this houſe, in the very inſtant when it was known that more than one court negotiation was carrying on with the heads of the oppoſition. Every thing, upon every ſide, was full of traps and mines. Earth below ſhook; heaven above menaced; all the elements of miniſterial ſafety were diſſolved. It was in the midſt of this chaos of plots and counter-plots; it was in the midſt of this complicated warfare againſt public oppoſition and private treachery, that the firmneſs of that noble perſon was put to the proof. He never ſtirred from his ground; no, not an inch. He remained fixed and determined, in principle, in meaſure, and in conduct. He practiſed no managements. He ſecured no retreat. He ſought no apology."

We ſhall have further occaſion to refer to this ſpeech, which abounds in effuſions of genius and fancy. What we have now quoted will make the reader well enough acquainted with Mr. BURKE's ſentiments on the repeal of the ſtamp-act, concerning the juſtice and policy of which there is now very little difference of opinion, except among the JENKINSONS, the WEDDERBURNES, the ELLIOTS, the COVENTRIES, and other ſurviving old hacks of the court.

The repeal of the ſtamp-act was followed by ſome other popular meaſures, in which Mr. BURKE took a very active part. A bill was paſſed for the repeal of the cider-act, and for ſubſtituting in the room of the former odious exciſe a new duty entirely different in the mode of collecting it. General warrants and the ſeizure of papers, except in caſes provided for by act of parliament, were declared to be illegal, and to be a breach of privilege, if executed againſt any member; but a bill founded

on theſe reſolutions of the commons was thrown out by the lords, as unneceſſary and frivolous. The *mercenary Swiſs of ſtate* here prevailed over the patriotic phalanx.

It is not improbable that thoſe reſolutions on the illegality of general warrants, &c. which were agreed to by the commons in the latter end of April 1766, encouraged Mr. JOHN WILKES to return from exile, and make his ſudden appearance in town on the 12th of May. This gentleman's life and character are ſufficiently known to the public; but a ſketch of both is here neceſſary, in order to juſtify the rebuff he met with from Mr. BURKE, then acting for the marquis of ROCKINGHAM. During the earl of BUTE's oſtenſible continuance in power, Mr. WILKES, then a member of parliament for Ayleſbury, and involved in the greateſt diſtreſs by vice and diſſipation, often applied to the miniſtry for ſome poſt that might repair his ſhattered fortune. But preposſeſſions ariſing from his notorious profligacy were ſo ſtrong againſt him, that failing of ſucceſs, he reſolved, as he openly declared, to try how far it was practicable to carry the licentiouſneſs of language, under pretext of exerciſing the liberty of the preſs. Though he had no pretenſion to genius or eloquence, he poſſeſſed ſome degree of expertneſs in ſeaſoning his writings to ſuit the taſte of the populace. "The North Briton" appeared, containing ſtrictures on the king's ſpeech at the cloſe of the ſeſſion in April 1763. It made a far greater noiſe than ſuch common-place remarks and ſuch mediocrity of compoſition deſerved. Even the famous No. 45 was truly what Mr. BURKE called it, "*a poor milk-and-water paper*," equally void of point and dignity, and remarkable only for the unmanlineſs and indecency of its attack upon the king. Yet ſuch was the extreme ſoreneſs and irritability of the miniſters, that they called forth the utmoſt ſtretch of arbitrary

arbitrary power to puniſh the author, whoſe ſole aim was to provoke perſecution. He was apprehended upon a general warrant, ſigned by lord HALIFAX, one of the ſecretaries of ſtate; and was committed to the Tower. In a few days after, being brought before the court of common pleas by an *habeas corpus*, he was diſcharged on the plea of privilege as a member of parliament. But, though this privilege implied an exemption from the ordinary courſe of law, yet Mr. WILKES ſucceeded in making the people regard it as the triumph of the whole Engliſh nation over their oppreſſors, and conſider him as a dauntleſs champion in the cauſe of liberty. In this moment of deluſion, he did not neglect putting to the proof the ſhrewdneſs of one of his own favorite remarks, which he often made to his boſom friends and bottle-companions, and by which his conduct was uniformly regulated: "The public is a gooſe; and that man muſt be a d----d fool, who does not know how to pluck a feather." He ſet up a printing-preſs at his houſe in Great George Street; advertiſed the proceedings againſt him and the original papers for a guinea; and thus by levying contributions on the folly and credulity of his countrymen, took care not only to indemnify himſelf for his ſufferings and expence, but greatly to recruit his exhauſted finances. He alſo perſuaded the printers of the North Briton and ſome other perſons, who had been taken up by general warrants, to ſeek redreſs at law; and ſuch was the temper of the times, that they all obtained conſiderable damages. He took the firſt favorable opportunity to avail himſelf of the ſame encouragement; but was obliged to quit the country before he could accompliſh his object. There is no doubt but in the number of Mr. WILKES's ſupporters there were many real and enlightened patriots, who thought it their duty to reſiſt oppreſſion, though directed againſt the moſt worthleſs

worthleſs individual; while others were influenced by perſonal enmity to miniſters, and, like JUNIUS, eſpouſed the cauſe of WILKES, becauſe they did not know "where to find a man, who, with purer principles, would go the lengths, and run the hazards, that he did."

The raſhneſs and violence of the miniſters at that time tended no leſs than the artifice of Mr. WILKES to ſwell the tide of popular diſcontents. It ſeemed as if the cruſhing of that one individual conſtituted the whole buſineſs of government. Towards the cloſe of the king's ſpeech at the opening of the next ſeſſion, ſome hints were thrown out on the neceſſity of diſcouraging the licentious ſpirit of the times; and it ſoon appeared that theſe hints were deſigned as a prelude to the moſt rigorous proceedings againſt WILKES. Even before the king's ſpeech was taken into conſideration, a meſſage from his majeſty reſpecting Mr. WILKES's writings and conduct was laid before the commons, when it was reſolved by a majority of two hundred and ſeventy-three againſt one hundred and eleven, "That the paper entitled the North Briton, No. 45, is a falſe, ſcandalous, and ſeditious libel, containing expreſſions of the moſt unexampled inſolence and contumely towards his majeſty, the groſſeſt aſperſions upon both houſes of parliament, and the moſt audacious defiance of the authority of the whole legiſlature; and moſt manifeſtly tending to alienate the affections of the people from his majeſty, to withdraw them from their allegiance to the laws of the realm, and to excite them to traitorous inſurrections." In conſequence of this reſolution, an order was agreed to by the houſe, that the ſaid paper ſhould be burned by the hands of the common hangman.

A few days after, a motion was carried in the commons, and concurred in by the lords, "That privilege of parliament does not extend

extend to the caſe of writing and publiſhing ſeditious libels, nor ought to be allowed to obſtruct the ordinary courſe of the laws in the ſpeedy and effectual proſecution of ſo heinous and dangerous an offence." As this reſolution tended to confine within narrower limits the ſuppoſed privileges of every member of the legiſlature, and was alſo diametrically oppoſite to the late determination of the court of common pleas, the miniſtry were deſerted by a few of their uſual ſupporters; and the oppoſition made a vigorous though ineffectual ſtand againſt it. Mr. PITT exerted himſelf with extraordinary ardor in the debate: but while he oppoſed the ſurrender of privilege, he diſclaimed any connexion with the writer of the libel. "No man," he ſaid, "could condemn the paper more than he did; but he would come at the author fairly,---not by an open breach of the conſtitution, and a contempt of all reſtraint. The houſe had already voted that paper a libel---he joined in that vote. He condemned the whole ſeries of *North Britons:* he called them *illiberal, unmanly,* and *deteſtable*. He abhorred all national reflections. The king's ſubjects were one people. Whoever divided them was guilty of ſedition. His majeſty's complaint was well founded:---it was juſt:---it was neceſſary. *The* AUTHOR *did* NOT *deſerve to be ranked among the* HUMAN SPECIES---*he was the* BLASPHEMER *of his* GOD, *and the* LIBELLER *of his* KING."

In the firſt part of this ſevere, but juſt invective, Mr. PITT alluded to Mr. WILKES's "Eſſay on Woman," a poem full of the moſt indecent and profane ribaldry, and accompanied with notes, ſtated in the title-page to have been written by Dr. WARBURTON, biſhop of Glouceſter. This circumſtance brought the book within the cognizance of the houſe of lords, who proceeded againſt the author for a breach of privilege, while he was indicted

in the courts below for blaſphemy. But Mr. WILKES, who, in the mean time had been expelled the houſe of commons, made his eſcape to Paris, and eluded ſome of the blows, under the irreſiſtible force of which he muſt have otherwiſe have fallen. He was ſoon run to an outlawry for not appearing to the indictments againſt him; and the ſuits, which he had carried on againſt the ſecretaries of ſtate with the greateſt probability of ſucceſs, fell of courſe to the ground.

Mr. WILKES's flight from public juſtice, the turpitude of his private life, and the extreme obſcenity as well as profaneneſs of his "Eſſay on Woman," tended very much to lower him in the opinion even of the mob, and to abate the fervor of his warmeſt advocates. Few men were ſo loſt to all ſenſe of decency, as not to be aſhamed of coming, as it were, into contact with ſuch an infamous character. In this ſituation, an exile from his country, diſtreſt in his circumſtances, and abandoned by his party, he ſeemed not only totally ruined, but nearly forgotten. A ſudden ray of hope ſhot through theſe glooms, on the promotion of ſome of his former friends to office in the marquis of ROCKINGHAM's adminiſtration. Goaded by extreme want, and encouraged by ſome intimations of kindneſs and pity, as well as by the beforementioned reſolutions of the houſe of commons on the illegality of general warrants, and the breach of privilege in caſe of their being executed upon a member of the houſe, he came to London accompanied by a Mr. MACLEANE, one of Mr. BURKE's intimate friends. The latter gave Mr. WILKES very kind aſſurances of the miniſter's diſpoſition to ſerve him; but, at the ſame time, would not ſuffer theſe voluntary and generous offers to be conſidered as a treaty or bargain which was to lay the marquis under any ſpecific obligation. Mr. WILKES, on the other hand, fancied

cied that the men, whoſe cauſe he ſaid he had eſpouſed, would not dare to treat him with indifference. He therefore wiſhed to dictate what atonement ſhould be made him for his paſt ſufferings, or rather, on what terms the reſtoration of ſo much virtue and ability was to be purchaſed by his country. He demanded a general pardon; five thouſand pounds in caſh, in lieu of a fine from lord HALIFAX, the late ſecretary of ſtate; and a penſion on the Iriſh eſtabliſhment. Such preſumption met with the contempt it deſerved; and Mr. WILKES, finding that he could not at that time reverſe his outlawry by error or by appearance, returned into exile with the mortifying reflection that his own unparalleled inſolence had defeated the purpoſe of his journey.

It does not form a neceſſary part of our propoſed narrative to trace minutely every other ſtep taken by the marquis of ROCKINGHAM and his confidential ſecretary during their ſhort continuance in office. Mr. BURKE himſelf will furniſh us with the beſt account of that nobleman's adminiſtration; and we cannot believe that the beauty of the piece will ſuffer from the invidious inſinuations of the writer's enemies, that he was then compoſing his own panegyric; and that the marquis was only a dark lanthorn, occaſionally enlightened by the ſplendor of his ſecretary's genius. Did a juſt perception of Mr. BURKE's talents, and a becoming reliance on his counſels, in any ſort imply that the marquis was incapable of judging and deciding for himſelf? Thoſe who knew him will readily bear teſtimony, that his mind was as clear and comprehenſive as his manners were mild and unaſſuming; and whatever may be thought of his *half meaſures* reſpecting America, as Mr. PITT called them, he certainly deſerved ſome praiſe for the abolition of obnoxious duties, for the removal of various clogs on the colonial trade, for the concluſion of a com-

mercial treaty with Ruſſia, and for the ſatisfactory ſettlement of the Canada bills. But theſe ſmaller claims to eſteem could not ſupply the want of experience in the more important concerns of the ſtate. The duke of GRAFTON, one of the ſecretaries, feeling the inſtability of his colleagues, reſigned about the middle of May, and did not ſneak from the avowal of his reaſons for ſo doing. He publicly declared in the houſe of lords, "that he had no objection to the perſons, or to the meaſures of the miniſters he had recently left; but that he thought they wanted ſtrength and efficacy to carry on proper meaſures with ſucceſs; and that he knew but one man, [meaning Mr. PITT] who could give them that ſtrength and ſolidity: that, under him, he ſhould be willing to ſerve in any capacity, not only as a general officer, but as a pioneer, and would take up a ſpade and a mattock." Though the place he had juſt vacated was immediately filled by the duke of RICHMOND, yet his retreat at that juncture was generally looked upon as a ſtrong ſymptom of the probable diſmiſſion of his late aſſociates. They did not maintain their ground long after the prorogation of parliament on the ſixth of June. Their fall is ſaid to have been accelerated by the following circumſtance.

After the repeal of the ſtamp-act, which the marquis and his friends looked upon as the only method of conciliating the affections of the refractory colonies, they took into conſideration the ſtate of Canada, for which province no complete ſyſtem of government had yet been formed. They conceived it neceſſary to ſupply this defect; and Mr. BURKE having drawn the outlines of a plan, preparatory to a bill for that purpoſe, the ſketch was ſubmitted to the earl of NORTHINGTON, then lord chancellor. He had never been very cordially their friend, and was now, perhaps,

perhaps, glad of a favorable opportunity of expreſſing his diſlike. He condemned the whole ſcheme in the moſt unqualified terms of diſapprobation: he even went to the king, and complained to his majeſty of the unfitneſs of his miniſters, adding, "that they could not go on, and that Mr. PITT muſt be ſent for." In conſequence of theſe very plain aſſertions, the chancellor was commiſſioned to confer with Mr. PITT on the ſubject of a new arrangement.

As Mr. PITT's refuſal of former offers had ſolely ariſen from his not being permitted to fill all the departments of the ſtate with whom he pleaſed, that objection was now removed by the chancellor's aſſuring him, "that the king had no terms to propoſe;" and the ſame aſſurance was afterwards confirmed to him by the king himſelf, to whom he was introduced at Richmond, on the twelfth of July. Lord TEMPLE, Mr. PITT's brother-in-law, who was then at Stowe, being ſent for by his majeſty's order, came to town with all poſſible diſpatch; and having firſt paid his reſpects to the king, waited next upon Mr. PITT, to aſſiſt him in forming the arrangements. As the account of their conference, which was communicated by lord TEMPLE to Mr. COTES, and ſoon after publiſhed, places Mr. PITT's character, principles, and ruling paſſion, in the ſtrongeſt light, no apology need be made for inſerting here a piece of ſuch intereſting and authentic information.

On the morning after lord TEMPLE had ſeen the king, he "received a very affectionate letter from Mr. PITT, then at North End, Hampſtead, deſiring to ſee his lordſhip there, as his health would not permit him to come to town. His lordſhip went; and Mr. PITT acquainted him, that his majeſty had been graciouſly pleaſed to ſend for him to form an adminiſtration; and

as

as he thought his lordſhip *indiſpenſible*, he deſired his majeſty to ſend for him, and put him at the head of the treaſury; and that he himſelf would take the poſt of privy ſeal. Mr. PITT then produced a liſt of ſeveral perſons which he ſaid he had fixed upon to go in with his lordſhip, and which, he added, was not to be altered. Lord TEMPLE ſaid, that he had had the honour of a conference with his majeſty at Richmond the evening before, and that he did not underſtand, from what paſſed between them, that Mr. PITT was to be *abſolute maſter*, and to form *every part* of the adminiſtration: if he had, he ſhould not have given himſelf the trouble of coming to Mr. PITT upon that ſubject, being determined to come in upon an *equality* with Mr. PITT, in caſe he was to occupy the moſt reſponſible place under government: and as Mr. PITT had choſen only a ſide-place, without any reſponſibility annext to it, he ſhould inſiſt on ſome of his friends being in the cabinet-offices with him, and in whom he could confide; which he thought Mr. PITT could have no objection to, as he muſt be ſenſible he could not come in with honour, unleſs he had ſuch nomination; nor did he deſire, but that Mr. PITT ſhould have his ſhare of the nomination of *his* friends. And his lordſhip added, that he made a *ſacrifice* of his brother, Mr. GEORGE GRENVILLE, who, notwithſtanding his being entirely out of place, and excluded from all connection with the intended ſyſtem, would nevertheleſs give *him* (lord TEMPLE) all the aſſiſtance and ſupport in his power: that it was an idea to conciliate all parties, which was the ground that had made Mr. PITT's former adminiſtration ſo reſpectable and glorious, and to form on the ſolid baſis of *union* an able and reſponſible adminiſtration, to brace the relaxed ſinews of government, retrieve the honour of the crown, and purſue the permanent intereſt of the public: but that if

Mr.

Mr. PITT inſiſted upon a *ſuperior* dictation, and did not chuſe to join in a plan deſigned for the reſtoration of that *union*, which at no time was ever ſo neceſſary, he deſired the conference might be broke off, and that Mr. PITT would give himſelf no farther trouble about him, for that he would not ſubmit to the propoſed conditions.

Mr. PITT, however, inſiſted upon continuing the conference; and aſked, who thoſe perſons were whom his lordſhip intended for ſome of the cabinet employments? His lordſhip anſwered, that one in particular was a noble lord of an approved character, and known abilities, who had laſt year refuſed the very office now offered to him, (lord TEMPLE) though preſſed to it in the ſtrongeſt manner by the duke of CUMBERLAND and the duke of NEWCASTLE; and who being their common friend, he did not doubt Mr. PITT himſelf had in contemplation. This worthy and reſpectable perſon was lord LYTTLETON. At the concluſion of this ſentence, Mr. PITT ſaid, "good God! how can you compare him to the duke of GRAFTON, lord SHELBURNE, and Mr. CONWAY? Beſides," continued he, "I have taken the privy ſeal, and he cannot have that." Lord TEMPLE then mentioned the poſt of lord preſident; upon which Mr. Pitt ſaid, that could not be, for he had engaged the preſidency; "but," ſays he, "lord LYTTLETON *may have a penſion:*" to which lord TEMPLE immediately anſwered, that would never do; nor would he *ſtain* the bud of his adminiſtration with an accumulation of penſions. It is true, Mr. PITT *vouchſafed* to permit lord TEMPLE to nominate his own board; but at the ſame time inſiſted, that if two perſons of that board (T. TOWNSHEND and G. ONSLOW, Eſqrs.) were turned out, they ſhould have a *compenſation*, i. e. *penſions*.

"Mr. PITT next aſked, what perſon his lordſhip had in his thoughts for ſecretary of ſtate? His lordſhip anſwered, lord GOWER,

GOWER, a man of great abilities, and whom he knew to be equal to any Mr. PITT had named, and of much greater alliance; and in whom he meant and hoped to unite and conciliate a great and powerful party, in order to widen and ſtrengthen the bottom of his adminiſtration, and to vacate even the idea of oppoſition; thereby to reſtore unanimity in parliament, and confine every good man's attention to the real objects of his country's welfare. And his lordſhip added, that he had never imparted his deſire to lord GOWER, nor did he know whether that noble lord would accept of it, but mentioned it now, only as a comprehenſive meaſure, to attain the great end he wiſhed, of reſtoring unanimity by a reconciliation of parties, that the buſineſs of the nation might go on without interruption, and become the only buſineſs of parliament. But Mr. PITT rejected this propoſal, evidently *healing* as it appeared, by ſaying, that he had determined Mr. CONWAY muſt ſtay in his preſent office, and that he had lord SHELBURNE to propoſe for the other office, then held by the duke of RICHMOND; ſo that there remained no room for lord GOWER. This, lord TEMPLE ſaid, was coming to his firſt propoſition of being *ſole* and *abſolute* dictator, to which no conſideration ſhould ever induce him to ſubmit. And therefore he inſiſted on ending the conference; which he did with ſaying, that if he had been firſt called upon by the king, he ſhould have conſulted Mr. PITT's honour, with regard to the arrangement of miniſters, and have given him an *equal* ſhare in the nomination; and that he thought himſelf ill-treated by Mr. PITT, in his not obſerving the like conduct."

It is almoſt unneceſſary to make any remarks on Mr. PITT's behaviour at this conference. Here he appears without any diſguiſe, and diveſted of that dazzling luſtre which his genius ſpread round him on all public occaſions. Availing himſelf of the

the *carte blanche* which had been given him by the king, he ſpurned at every idea of *equality*, of *union*, and of *healing propoſals*. Honour, friendſhip, and even the welfare of his country had very little weight, when they came in competition with his vanity. But the ſhort-lived triumph of his pride was followed by long and ſtinging mortifications. He weakly fancied that his name alone would eſtabliſh a miniſtry, and that the firſt men in the kingdom would be ready at a call to enliſt under his banner, and to take whatever poſt he might think proper to aſſign them. A few experiments convinced him of his miſtake. He made various offers to different perſons of great weight and conſideration, with a view of detaching them from their friends. He tampered with the duke of PORTLAND, who ſtill held the office of lord chamberlain; with Mr. DOWDESWELL, the late chancellor of the exchequer; and even with lord GOWER, to whom he propoſed the office of ſecretary of ſtate, though he had ſet his face againſt the very ſame appointment, when ſuggeſted by lord TEMPLE. All his offers were rejected. He then went to the marquis of ROCKINGHAM's; but the marquis refuſed to ſee him. Rendered deſperate by theſe rebuffs, he formed that *checkered* and *ſpeckled* adminiſtration, of which it is impoſſible to give a juſter or more ſtriking picture than in the following words of Mr. BURKE*:

"He put together a piece of joinery, ſo croſsly indented and whimſically dove-tailed; a cabinet ſo variouſly inlaid; ſuch a piece of diverſified Moſaic; ſuch a teſſelated pavement without cement; here a bit of black ſtone, and there a bit of white; patriots and courtiers; king's friends and republicans; whigs and tories; treacherous friends and open enemies; that it was indeed

* See the Speech on American taxation, before quoted.

a very curious ſhow; but utterly unſafe to touch, and unſure to ſtand on. The colleagues, whom he had afforted at the ſame boards, ſtared at each other, and were obliged to aſk, *Sir, your name?---Sir, you have the advantage of me---Mr. Such-a-one---I beg a thouſand pardons.*---I venture to ſay, it did ſo happen, that perſons had a ſingle office divided between them, who had never ſpoke to each other in their lives, until they found themſelves, they knew not how, pigging together, heads and points, in the ſame truckle-bed*."

The new arrangement took place on the 30th of July. Mr. PITT being then created viſcount PYNSENT and earl of CHATHAM, received the privy ſeal, lately held by the duke of NEWCASTLE: the duke of GRAFTON was placed at the head of the treaſury, in the room of the marquis of ROCKINGHAM; and CHARLES TOWNSHEND ſucceeded Mr. DOWDESWELL as chancellor of the exchequer: general CONWAY was continued in the office of ſecretary of ſtate; but had for his colleague the earl of SHELBURNE, inſtead of the duke of RICHMOND: lord CAMDEN was made lord chancellor in the room of lord NORTHINGTON, who exchanged the wool-ſack for the preſident's chair. Many other changes were made at the ſame time, and ſoon after in all the different departments of adminiſtration; and none, perhaps, excited more ſurpriſe than the reſtoration of the privy ſeal of Scotland to Mr. STUART MACKENZIE, the earl of BUTE's brother.

No ſooner was this heterogeneous mixture, this forced combination of the moſt repulſive and diſcordant principles effected, than the contriver of it found himſelf without authority or in-

* Suppoſed to allude to the right hon. lord NORTH and GEORGE COOKE, Eſq. who were made joint paymaſters, on the change of adminiſtration.

fluence.

fluence. The ſcepter of abſolute controul, which he was ſo fond of wielding, fell from his infirm graſp; and he was, in reality, confined to that *ſide-place*, as lord TEMPLE called it, whence he hoped to have directed the operations of thoſe who ſtood in the foremoſt ranks of power and reſponſibility.

The firſt object of Mr. BURKE's care, on the diſmiſſal of his friends, was to lay before the public a defence of their meaſures in ſo conciſe a form as to be ſoon read, in ſuch plain language as to be eaſily underſtood, and under ſuch an impoſing air as to ſteal into the minds and hearts of men before they could ſuſpect the tendency or deſign of it. The rule laid down by all the great maſters in every age and every country, that the perfection of art conſiſts in hiding its own efforts was never, perhaps, better exemplified than in Mr. BURKE's "Short Account of a late ſhort Adminiſtration," which appeared in the beginning of Auguſt 1766. The facts are ſtated in regular order and with the utmoſt ſimplicity: no pomp of words is uſed to ſet them off: the writer ſeems to rely on the evidence of truth alone: his remarks are very ſparingly introduced, and expreſſed in as few words as poſſible, not weakened by amplification, but, like javelins darted in a ſtraight line, deriving greater force from their brevity: in ſhort, there are no rhetorical flouriſhes—no ſtudied turns—no ſhining thoughts—we fancy we are liſtening to the teſtimony of a prudent and faithful witneſs, who relates what has happened, with a great ſhew of candor, free from all ſubtlety, prevarication, or embelliſhment.

"The late adminiſtration," ſays he, "came into employment, under the mediation of the duke of CUMBERLAND, on the tenth day of July 1765; and was removed, upon a plan ſettled by the earl of CHATHAM, on the thirtieth day of July 1766, having laſted juſt one year and twenty days.

" In that ſpace of time

" The diſtractions of the Britiſh empire were compoſed, by *the repeal of the American ſtamp-act*;

" But the conſtitutional ſuperiority of Great Britain was preſerved, by *the act for ſecuring the dependence of the colonies.*

" *Private* houſes were relieved from the juriſdiction of the exciſe, by *the repeal of the cider-tax.*

" The perſonal liberty of the ſubject was confirmed, by *the reſolution againſt general warrants.*

" The lawful ſecrets of buſineſs and friendſhip were rendered inviolable, by *the reſolution for condemning the ſeizure of papers.*

" The trade of America was ſet free from injudicious and ruinous impoſitions---its revenue was improved, and ſettled upon a rational foundation---its commerce extended with foreign countries; while all the advantages were ſecured to Great Britain, by *the act for repealing certain duties, and encouraging, regulating, and ſecuring the trade of this kingdom and the Britiſh dominions in America.*

" Materials were provided and inſured to our manufactures---the ſale of theſe manufactures was increaſed---the African trade preſerved and extended---the principles of the act of navigation purſued, and the plan improved---and the trade for bullion rendered free, ſecure, and permanent, by *the act for opening certain ports in Dominica and Jamaica.*

" That adminiſtration was the firſt which propoſed and encouraged public meetings and free conſultations of merchants from all parts of the kingdom; by which means the trueſt lights have been received; great benefits have been already derived to manufactures and commerce; and the moſt extenſive proſpects are opened for farther improvement.

" Under

" Under them, the intereſts of our northern and ſouthern colonies, before that time jarring and diſſonant, were underſtood, compared, adjuſted, and perfectly reconciled. The paſſions and animoſities of the colonies, by judicious and lenient meaſures, were allayed and compoſed, and the foundation laid for a laſting agreement amongſt them.

" Whilſt that adminiſtration provided for the liberty and commerce of their country, as the true baſis of its power, they conſulted its intereſts, they aſſerted its honour abroad, with temper and with firmneſs; by making an advantageous treaty of commerce with Ruſſia; by obtaining a liquidation of the Canada bills, to the ſatisfaction of the proprietors; by reviving and raiſing from its aſhes the negociation for the Manilla ranſom, which had been extinguiſhed and abandoned by their predeceſſors.

" They treated their ſovereign with decency; with reverence. They diſcountenanced, and, it is hoped, for ever aboliſhed, the dangerous and unconſtitutional practice of removing military officers for their votes in parliament. They firmly adhered to thoſe friends of liberty, who had run all hazards in its cauſe, and provided for them in preference to every other claim.

" With the earl of BUTE they had no perſonal connection; no correſpondence of councils. They neither courted him nor perſecuted him. They practiſed no corruption, nor were they even ſuſpected of it. They ſold no offices. They obtained no reverſions or *penſions*, either coming in or going out, for themſelves, their families, or their dependents.

" In the proſecution of their meaſures they were traverſed by an oppoſition of a new and ſingular character; an oppoſition of place-men and penſioners. They were ſupported by the confidence of the nation. And having held their offices under many difficulties

difficulties and diſcouragements, they left them at the expreſs command, as they had accepted them at the earneſt requeſt, of their royal maſter.

" Theſe are plain facts; of a clear and public nature; neither extended by elaborate reaſoning, or heightened by the colouring of eloquence. They are the ſervices of a ſingle year.

" The removal of that adminiſtration from power is not to them premature; ſince they were in office long enough to accompliſh many plans of public utility; and, by their perſeverance and reſolution, rendered the way ſmooth and eaſy to their ſucceſſors; having left their king and their country in a much better condition than they found them. By the temper they manifeſt, they ſeem to have now no other wiſh, than that their ſucceſſors may do the public as real and as faithful ſervice as they have done."

A few days after, when this plain, and ſerious, but very impreſſive appeal to the nation might be ſuppoſed to have produced its full effect, the following humorous reply to it appeared, in order to catch the laughing part of the multitude,---to point the ſtings of irony at thoſe objects againſt which it would not have been ſo ſafe to employ the ſword of reaſon,---and to *tickle*, in the manner of the Roman ſatiriſt, while it *probed the wound*.

" TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

" *In the multitude of counſellors there is ſafety*, ſays the wiſe man. If SOLOMON means privy-counſellors, this nation ought to be ſafe beyond all others, ſince none can boaſt ſuch a variety of miniſters, and none can ſuch a multitude of privy-counſellors.

" Miniſters, now-a-days, are pricked down for the year like ſheriffs; and if none were to make more of their offices than the laſt

laſt did, I fancy we ſhould ſee them *fine off*, or demand a poll, before they conſented to ſerve. In my younger days, CHAMBERLAYN's *Preſent State of England* would laſt you ſeven years, and needed no more to be renewed annually, than a family bible or a whole duty of Man; but now you can no more gueſs who is in office to-day, by the court-kalendar of laſt year, than you can tell the preſent price of ſtocks by LLOYD's *Liſt* of Chriſtmas 1745.

" But the main deſign of my taking pen in hand, was to refute the ſilly author of a late ſilly publication, called, *A ſhort Account of a late ſhort Adminiſtration*.

" This half-ſheet accountant ſhows his ill humour in the very title: he calls one year and twenty days a *ſhort* adminiſtration: whereas I can prove, by the *Rule of Three Direct*, that it is as much as any miniſtry in theſe times has a right to expect.

" Since the happy acceſſion of his preſent majeſty, to this day, we have worn out no leſs than five complete ſets of honeſt, able, upright miniſters; not to ſpeak of the preſent, whom G---d long preſerve.

" Firſt, we had Mr. PITT's adminiſtration;

" Next, the duke of NEWCASTLE's;

" Then, lord BUTE's;

" Then, Mr. GRENVILLE's;

" And, laſtly, my lord ROCKINGHAM's.

" Now, Sir, if you will take a bit of chalk, and reckon from the ſeventh of October 1760, to the thirtieth of July 1766, you will find five years, nine months, and thirty days! which, divided by five, the total of adminiſtrations, gives exactly one year and ſixty days each, *on an average*, as we ſay in the city, ---and one day more, if they have the good fortune to ſerve in leap year.

unemployed ſtocks, which the new miniſtry found cut and dry, ready to begin trade upon; and this is, as I take it, what our author alludes to by the late adminiſtration's "rendering the ways ſmooth and eaſy to their ſucceſſors." To be ſure, it was rendering the ways eaſy, to leave wherewithal to greaſe them; but why they did not employ theſe helps to ſmooth the way for themſelves, is indeed ſurpriſing. It may be ſaid, before they came in, they always declaimed againſt reverſions; but this is a poor excuſe—every body knows that profeſſions of patriotiſm are like treaties of peace—*they only bind till we are ſtrong enough to break them.*

"I finiſh my criticiſms on this ſhort performance, with an obſervation on the harſh and unwarranted word the accountant employs in relating the diſmiſſion of his friends: he ſays, "they left their offices at the expreſs command of their royal maſter;" thereby inſinuating, that his M——y diſmiſſed them ſpontaneouſly, and from a diſlike to their meaſures. If their meaſures were good and popular, (as he pretends) it is unjuſt to his M——y to ſay he diſliked them. The truth is, that no letters of diſmiſſion were ſent to thoſe that attended court; and the countenance and behaviour of his M——y to the late firſt lord of the treaſury marked the higheſt degree of eſteem and perſonal favor: therefore, we may judge they were ſet aſide at the never-ceaſing importunities of an all-powerful *Thane*, to whom they never bended the knee; and for the conveniency of a new adminiſtration, from whom (perhaps vainly) he expected more complaiſance.

"This is the firſt time I troubled you or the public with my politics, though I have been thirty years in London in the tallow-chandling way, and twelve a common-council-man, and, if the bell

bell rings true, ſhall be lord mayor before I die. Therefore pray inſert my letter directly, as you would oblige,

" Sir,

" Your moſt humble Servant,

" *Cateaton-Street*, " WHITTINGTON."

" *Aug.* 1766."

It is almoſt incredible what a ſhock this piece of irony gave to lord CHATHAM's popularity in the city. The original WHITTINGTON and his *cat*, could not, in *their* time, make a greater noiſe, or attract more general notice, than was raiſed by the fly, ſarcaſtic epiſtle of his ſuppoſed deſcendant and nameſake, the tallow-chandler in Cateaton Street. Even BECKFORD, with all his influence, was unable to reſiſt the impetuoſity of the current, which was now turned againſt his illuſtrious friend. Both theſe patriots ſank alſo conſiderably in the eſteem of the real friends of the conſtitution, in conſequence of their attempt, at the next meeting of parliament, to vindicate the diſpenſing power of the crown. The corn-harveſt having been very much injured, not only in England, but all over Europe, by an uncommonly wet ſummer, the privy council had, among other expedients, iſſued a proclamation, during the receſs, which laid an embargo on the exportation of wheat and flour, and prohibited the uſe of that grain in the diſtilleries. But as wheat had not yet reached the price under which it might be legally exported, no authority but that of the whole legiſlature could lay a conſtitutional embargo on it; and a bill of indemnity alone, according to the principles eſtabliſhed at the revolution, could protect from puniſhment the framers, adviſers, or executors of ſuch an illegal act, however expedient or neceſſary at the time. When a bill for that purpoſe was afterwards brought into parliament, moſt people were aſto-

niſhed to ſee it oppoſed by Mr. BECKFORD, and all the earl of CHATHAM's intimate friends in the lower houſe, and by the earl himſelf and lord CAMDEN in the upper houſe. They defended the late ſtretch of prerogative as a matter of right, aſſerting that a diſpenſing power, in caſes of ſtate neceſſity, was one of the prerogatives inherent in the crown. Lord MANSFIELD, lord TEMPLE, and lord LYTTLETON, very warmly eſpouſed the cauſe of freedom and the conſtitution; and reprobated in the ſtrongeſt terms the plea of neceſſity, that odious and long-exploded principle, which had been offered as an excuſe for all the evil practices in the reigns of the STUARTS. "If," ſaid they, "the plea of neceſſity were admitted, and the crown allowed to be the ſole judge of that neceſſity, the power would be unlimited; becauſe the diſcretion of the prince and his council might apply it in any inſtance, ſo that diſcretion would degenerate into deſpotiſm. For this reaſon the wiſdom of the legiſlature has deprived the crown of all diſcretionary power over poſitive laws, and has emancipated acts of parliament from the royal prerogative. The power of ſuſpenſion, which is but another word for a temporary repeal, reſides only in the legiſlature, the ſupreme authority of the realm.---The receſs of parliament, or the inconvenience of aſſembling it, are diſtinctions unknown to the conſtitution. The parliament is always in being:---its acts never ſleep: they are not to be evaded by flying into a ſanctuary---no, not even that of neceſſity:---they are of equal force at all times, in all places, and to all perſons.---The law is above the king; and he, as well as the ſubject, is as much bound by it during the receſs, as during the ſeſſion of parliament.---If the crown has a right to ſuſpend or break through any one law, it muſt have an equal right to break through them all.---No true diſtinction can be

be made between the *ſuſpending power* and the crown's *raiſing money* without the conſent of parliament. They are preciſely alike, and ſtand upon the very ſame ground. They were born twins, lived together, and together it was hoped they were buried at the Revolution, paſt all power of reſurrection.—Were the doctrine of ſuſpenſion, under the pretence of neceſſity, once admitted as conſtitutional, the Revolution could be called nothing but a ſucceſsful rebellion, or a lawleſs and wicked invaſion of the rights of the crown; the bill of rights would become a falſe and ſcandalous libel, an infamous impoſition both on prince and people; and JAMES II. could not be ſaid to have abdicated or forfeited, but to have been robbed of his crown."

By ſuch arguments and others of the like ſpirit and tendency was the plea for diſpenſing with the laws ſucceſsfully combated; and by theſe alſo were the apologiſts for the meaſure, however great their ingenuity and eloquence, reduced to the impoſſibility of a reply. It was a new ſpectacle for the nation to ſee the late idols of the people, a CHATHAM, and a CAMDEN, on their acceſſion to power, become at once the lofty aſſertors of prerogative; and a MANSFIELD, ſo long the notorious tool of court-influence, ſtart forth the intrepid champion of liberty, and bear down all before him in her elevated car.

Neither Mr. BURKE, nor any of the marquis of ROCKINGHAM's friends, took a conſpicuous part in thoſe debates, perhaps from motives of delicacy, leſt their ardor might be imputed to diſappointed ambition or perſonal enmity, rather than to their zeal for the conſtitution. It is alſo probable, that, perceiving ſuch a want of harmony in the cabinet as might be ſuppoſed to indicate a ſpeedy diſſolution of the new miniſtry, they did not deem it prudent by any violent or intemperate proceedings to throw

throw obſtacles in the way of their own return into office. Almoſt every important meaſure, which was diſcuſſed in either houſe, afforded a ſtrong preſumption that ſome change muſt ſoon take place, when a diſagreement of opinion was obvious between the oſtenſible and the confidential ſervants of the crown. A reſolution for reducing the land-tax from four to three ſhillings in the pound was carried againſt Mr. TOWNSHEND, the chancellor of the exchequer, by a conſiderable majority; and was the more noticed as being the firſt money-bill in which any miniſter had been diſappointed ſince the Revolution. He was again deſerted by the "mercenary Swiſs of ſtate" in his oppoſition to a bill for reſtraining the dividends of the Eaſt India company; but they all rallied round him with firm attachment on his propoſing, among other expedients for the ſupplies of the year, ſome duties on glaſs, tea, paper, and painters' colours imported from Great Britain into America.

This laſt meaſure, which was dictated by the ſpirit of folly and of deſpotiſm, implied not only a diſregard but a deciſive contempt of the earl of CHATHAM's principles and opinions. His popularity without doors, and his influence within, ſeemed now to be at the loweſt ebb. He had diſguſted by his overbearing manner the moſt reſpectable and powerful men of every party; and he had ſunk greatly in the public eſtimation by his acceptance of a peerage, and by his having firſt adviſed, and afterwards defended, upon unconſtitutional grounds, the exerciſe of the diſpenſing prerogative. Feeling, though too late, the want of proper ſupport, he made ſeveral attempts in the courſe of the winter, by offers and conceſſions not much to his honour, to gain over or divide the BEDFORD or the NEWCASTLE intereſt. But the moſt that he could obtain from the former was a temporary neutrality.

His

His next endeavour was to effect a breach between the duke of NEWCASTLE's adherents and thoſe of the marquis of ROCKINGHAM; for which purpoſe he very ungraciouſly deprived lord EDGECUMBE of his ſtaff as treaſurer of the houſhold, and gave it to Mr. SHELLEY. But the harſhneſs of lord EDGECUMBE's diſmiſſion, which was accompanied with an inſulting defiance of his parliamentary connections, cemented the union of the two parties whom the miniſter wiſhed to ſeparate, and provoked their reſentment. The duke of PORTLAND, lord chamberlain; ſir CHARLES SAUNDERS, firſt lord of the admiralty; the lords SCARBOROUGH, BESBOROUGH, and MONSON; ſir WILLIAM MEREDITH; admiral KEPPEL, and ſeveral others immediately reſigned; and though lord CHATHAM hoped to ſupply this deſertion of ſo many friends by his intended coalition with the BEDFORD party, when he came to lay before the duke his ultimate plan of meaſures, new difficulties aroſe, and the negociation was abruptly broken off. Agitated by contending paſſions, he at length became the prey of grief, jealouſy, vexation, diſappointment; and fell into ſo bad a ſtate of health, that he was obliged to relinquiſh all attention to buſineſs. It is therefore no wonder that he and a few of his colleagues, when they lay conſtantly at the mercy of the court on the one ſide, and of the oppoſition on the other, ſhould have hobbled through the ſeſſion with the moſt awkward inconſiſtency.

Soon after the prorogation of parliament on the ſecond of July 1797, an attempt was made to form another adminiſtration on a broad and comprehenſive ſyſtem; but the leaders of the ROCKINGHAM, the NEWCASTLE, and the BEDFORD parties could not ſettle the arrangements. Thoſe who continued in office were thrown into ſtill greater perplexity by the death of

CHARLES TOWNSHEND during the receſs. That gentleman, who ſeemed likely by his eloquence and abilities to ſupply the earl of CHATHAM's place in the houſe of commons, was cut off by a putrid fever at the very moment that the increaſe of his influence and the critical poſture of affairs began to allow full ſcope for the perfect development of his talents and character. Mr. BURKE made a very beautiful alluſion to the riſing effulgence of Mr. TOWNSHEND's genius and power, while thoſe of the earl of CHATHAM appeared to be rapidly declining. "Before this ſplendid orb," ſaid the orator, "was entirely ſet, and while the weſtern horizon was in a blaze with his deſcending glory, on the oppoſite quarter of the heavens aroſe another luminary, and, for his hour, became lord of the aſcendant." But it was only a ſhort hour; and the miniſterial, if not the political hemiſphere, was for ſome time left in darkneſs by his ſudden diſappearance.

At the opening of the next ſeſſion on the twenty-fourth of November, when the principal point recommended from the throne to the attention of parliament was the relief of the people from the diſtreſſes occaſioned by the high price of proviſions, Mr. ſecretary CONWAY concluded his ſpeech, in ſuppport of the uſual motion for an addreſs of thanks, with a very high panegyric on the late Mr. TOWNSHEND's abilities, on the fertility of his reſources, and the ſoundneſs of his judgment. He ſaid that his much-lamented friend had engaged to prepare a plan for the effectual relief of the poor in the article of proviſions; and he had no doubt, if that great man had lived, but he would have been able to perform his promiſe. Unfortunately for the public, his plan was loſt with him: it was eaſy to find a ſucceſſor to his place, but impoſſible to find a ſucceſſor to his abilities, or one equal to the execution of his deſigns.

Mr.

Mr. BURKE now broke the ſilence which he and the reſt of the marquis of ROCKINGHAM's friends had kept during the chief part of the preceding ſeſſion. He declared his ready aſſent to the *laborious* panegyric which had been made on the late chancellor of the exchequer. "No man," ſaid he, "has a higher opinion of his talents than I have; but as to his having conceived any plan for remedying the general diſtreſs about proviſions, I ſee many reaſons for ſuſpecting that it could never have been the caſe. If that gentleman had formed ſuch a plan, or if he had collected ſuch materials as we are now told he had, I think it is impoſſible but that, in the courſe of ſo many months, ſome knowledge or intimation of it muſt have been communicated to the gentlemen who acted with him, and who were united with him, not leſs by friendſhip than by office. He was not a reſerved man; and ſurely his colleagues, who had every opportunity of hearing his ſentiments in office, in private converſation, and in this houſe, muſt have been ſtrangely inattentive to a man, whom they ſo much admired, or uncommonly dull, if they could not retain the ſmalleſt memory of his opinions on matters on which they ought naturally to have conſulted him often. If he had ever drawn the looſeſt outlines of a plan, is it conceivable that all traces of it ſhould be ſo ſoon extinguiſhed? To me ſuch an abſolute oblivion ſeems wholly incredible. Yet admitting the fact for a moment, what an humiliating confeſſion is it for an adminiſtration, who have undertaken to adviſe about the conducting of an empire, to declare to this houſe that by the death of a ſingle man all projects for the public good are at an end, all plans are loſt, and that this loſs is irreparable, ſince there is not a leader ſurviving, who is in any meaſure capable of filling up the dreadful

Mr.

Mr. BURKE's ſtrictures on the ſpeech from the throne were ſtill more ſarcaſtic. He conſidered it as *ſomething lower than ridiculous*, as *particularly farcical*. He divided it into three heads. Upon the firſt article, or aſſertion, *that every thing was quiet abroad*, he remarked, "that ſuch an appearance of good underſtanding with our neighbours deſerved the name of *ſtagnation*, rather than of *tranquillity*, and was not ſo much owing to the ſucceſs of our foreign negociations, as to the entire ſuſpenſion of them for a very conſiderable time."

In order rightly to underſtand the ſecond article of the ſpeech, which contained a recommendation of what concerned the dearneſs of corn to the immediate and earneſt attention of both houſes, Mr. BURKE ſaid it was neceſſary to examine the miniſter's comment upon it. "But," continued he, "has that comment amounted to any thing more than a poſitive aſſurance that all the endeavours of adminiſtration to form a plan for relieving the poor in the article of proviſions have proved ineffectual? That they neither have a plan, nor materials of ſufficient information to lay before the houſe; and that the object itſelf is, in their apprehenſions, abſolutely unattainable? If this be the fact, if it be really true, that the miniſter, at the ſame time that he adviſes the throne to recommend a matter to the earneſt deliberation of parliament, confeſſes in his comment that this very matter is beyond the reach of this houſe, what inference muſt we neceſſarily draw from ſuch a text, and from ſuch an illuſtration? I will not venture to determine what may be the real motive of this ſtrange conduct and inconſiſtent language; but I will boldly pronounce, that it carries with it a moſt odious appearance. It has too much the air of a deſign to exculpate the crown, and the ſervants of the crown, at the expence of parliament." * * * *

After

After a few more obſervations on the natural tendency of ſuch a recommendation from the throne, which could ſerve only to raiſe the hopes of the people, then to diſappoint them, and finally to make the whole weight of their reſentment fall upon their repreſentatives, Mr. BURKE proceeds to examine the third head of the king's ſpeech, in which his majeſty conjured both houſes "to cultivate a ſpirit of harmony among themſelves." Language of this ſort the orator conſiders as having become of late years too flat and ſtale to bear being repeated: it was a vain and idle parade of words without meaning. "Is it in the conduct of miniſters," ſays he, "that we are to look for an example of this boaſted union? Shall we diſcover any trace of it in their broken, diſtracted councils, their public diſagreements and private animoſities? Is it not notorious that they only ſubſiſt by creating diviſions among others---that their plan is to ſeparate party from party---friend from friend---brother from brother? Is not their very motto *divide et impera?* When ſuch men adviſe to unite, what opinion muſt we have of their ſincerity? In the preſent inſtance, however, the ſpeech is particularly farcical. When we are told that affairs abroad are perfectly quiet, and conſequently that it is unneceſſary for us to take any notice of them; when we are told that there is indeed a diſtreſs at home, but beyond the reach of this houſe to remedy; to have unanimity recommended to us in the ſame breath, is, in my opinion, ſomething lower than ridiculous. If the two firſt propoſitions be true, in the name of wonder, upon what are we to debate? Upon what is it poſſible for us to diſagree? On one point our advice is not wanted; on the other it is uſeleſs: but it ſeems it will be highly agreeable to the miniſtry to have us unite in approving of their conduct; and if we have concord enough among ourſelves to keep in uniſon with

them and their meaſures, I dare ſay that all the purpoſes of adminiſtration, aimed at by the addreſs, will be fully anſwered, and entirely to their ſatisfaction. But this is a ſort of union, which I hope never will, which I am ſatisfied never can, prevail in a free parliament like ours. While we are freemen, we may diſagree; but when we unite upon the terms recommended to us by the adminiſtration, we muſt be ſlaves."

Thus it was that Mr. BURKE, in the early ſtages of his parliamentary career, penetrated into and expoſed the dark intrigues of the cabinet,---that weak, that wicked ſyſtem of diviſion and corruption, which was introduced by BUTE, and has ſince been uniformly adhered to by his creatures, his tools, his ſucceſſors. But how ſhall we expreſs our aſtoniſhment and indignation, when we afterwards find the eloquent detector of ſuch plots and conſpiracies brought over to give them his moſt zealous ſupport---brought over to exert his great talents in framing the like pieces of political patch-work, in giving plauſibility to the like deteſtable expedients of ſtate-craft, in endeavouring to ſeparate friend from friend, brother from brother; and in effecting thoſe unnatural coalitions which have ſo often diſgraced the hiſtory of our own times, and deſtroyed public confidence!

The above ſpeech might be conſidered as a renewal of hoſtilities between the ROCKINGHAM party and the miniſtry. No overtures were therefore made to the former on the ſubject of ſome changes which took place during the Chriſtmas receſs. The treaty with the duke of BEDFORD's friends was at length concluded, in conſequence of which lord GOWER was induced to accept the preſident's chair, vacated by the earl of NORTHINGTON. Lord NORTH had been promoted ſome days before to the late CHARLES TOWNSHEND's ſituation as chancellor of the exchequer;

chequer; THOMAS TOWNSHEND ſucceeded lord NORTH in the office of joint pay-maſter of the forces; and CHARLES JENKINSON, the earl of BUTE's confidential agent, was made a lord of the treaſury in the room of THOMAS TOWNSHEND. Lord WEYMOUTH was ſoon after nominated ſecretary of ſtate for the northern department, in the room of general CONWAY, who was raiſed to a higher rank in the military line; and the earl of HILSBOROUGH was appointed to the new office of ſecretary of ſtate for the colonies. The earl of CHATHAM, whoſe bodily infirmities ſtill prevented him from taking any ſhare in public buſineſs, was not conſulted in theſe new arrangements, nor in the plan of meaſures now reſolved upon with reſpect to America and Europe. The ſecret junto were determined to employ force in ſubduing what they called the refractory ſpirit of the coloniſts; and to remain quiet ſpectators of the king of France's invaſion of the iſland of Corſica. On this latter point the earl of SHELBURNE remonſtrated very warmly with his colleagues, urging in forcible language the ſupineneſs, the cowardice, the treachery, the beſotted ſtupidity of permitting LEWIS to rob the Corſicans of their inalienable rights, and to overturn the balance of power by annexing to his dominions an iſland that would give him conſiderable influence in the affairs of Italy, and a dangerous extenſion of controul over the trade of the Mediterranean. His ſentiments were over-ruled in the cabinet; and both he and the earl of CHATHAM reſigned a little before the meeting of the new parliament in November 1768. Lord SHELBURNE's place was then ſupplied by lord WEYMOUTH, from the northern department; the earl of ROCHFORD, late ambaſſador at Paris, was appointed ſucceſſor to lord WEYMOUTH; and the privy ſeal was given to the earl of BRISTOL.

Never,

Never, perhaps, had any general election been carried on with greater heat and obſtinacy than that of the year 1768. The arts of intrigue, the weight of perſonal and official influence, the utmoſt ſtretch of intereſt and authority were exerted in the ſtruggles between rival candidates. Even corruption threw off her uſual diſguiſe, and ſtalked forth with unbluſhing front and extended arm, to lead, or rather to force men away from their duty. The elections in London, Weſtminſter, and Middleſex, were particularly turbulent and riotous. Mr. WILKES had juſt returned from the continent; and though he ſtill lay under the ſentence of outlawry, declared himſelf a candidate to repreſent the city in parliament. He was received by the populace with loud acclamations, and a great majority of hands appeared in his favour; but he ſtood loweſt on the poll. He had no reaſon, however, to abandon himſelf to deſpair, in conſequence of this firſt defeat. He was fully conſoled for his failure in the city by a ſubſcription which had been opened for the payment of his debts, and by the earneſt he had received of the attachment of the people. He ſet up immediately for Middleſex; and obtained a ſignal triumph over ſir W. B. PROCTOR, one of the old members. The exceſſes of tumultuous joy and popular outrage that followed, the alternate indeciſion and violence of the miniſtry, the various proceedings in the courts of law relative to WILKES, his confinement in the King's Bench, the melancholy events in St. George's Fields, his expulſion from the houſe of commons, and the conteſt in which that houſe was unfortunately involved with the electors of Middleſex, would now appear very unintereſting in the detail, though they engaged at that time the attention of the whole nation. Not a week, ſcarcely a day paſſed without ſome diſcuſſion in parliament ariſing out of thoſe occurrences; and as Mr. BURKE took a

ſhare

ſhare in every debate, his character as an orator, his excellencies and defects were ſoon more nicely aſcertained than they could have been from his former occaſional and ſtudied exertions.

A complete account of all Mr. BURKE's ſpeeches even during that one ſeſſion, which opened in November and cloſed in May, would fill a volume. We ſhall therefore confine ourſelves to the memorable debate on Mr. WILKES's expulſion, which took place February the third 1769. A motion to that effect, made by lord BARRINGTON, the ſecretary at war, was oppoſed by the united ſtrength of the ROCKINGHAM and GRENVILLE parties, Mr. BURKE the great organ of the one, and Mr. GRENVILLE the leader of the other, being the principal ſpeakers. Though theſe gentlemen differed widely on ſome important topics, yet from a caſual coincidence of diſlike to many of the late meaſures of government, they often acted as if they belonged to the ſame phalanx. But on whatever ſide of the queſtion they ſpoke, their ſtile and manner always afforded a very remarkable and amuſing contraſt. Mr. BURKE's eloquence was ſplendid, copious, and animated, ſometimes addreſſing itſelf to the paſſions, much oftener to the fancy, but very ſeldom to the underſtanding, it ſeemed fitter for ſhew than debate, for the ſchool than the ſenate, and was calculated rather to excite applauſe than to produce conviction: Mr. GRENVILLE's was plain, yet correct, manly, argumentative, truſting more to genuine candour, to the energy of reaſon, and the well-diſplayed evidence of truth, than to the rainbow colours of fine imagery, or the blaze of artificial declamation. The one appeared always dreſſed in a rich wardrobe of words; to dazzle the beholders: the other made uſe of language, as a modeſt man does of clothes, for the purpoſes of convenience and decency. The [illegible] would enliven the dulleſt debate by

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the fallies of his wit; but he was too fond of exerting that talent upon every occaſion, and frequently debaſed it by an intermixture of low ridicule: the latter, full of the importance of his ſubject, and attentive to the becoming gravity as well as dignity of the ſenatorial character, never let himſelf down, nor attempted any thing like vulgar jeſts, or unſeaſonable pleaſantry. Mr. BURKE, naturally ardent, impetuous, and iraſcible, took fire at the ſmalleſt colliſion; and the ſudden burſts of his anger or his vehemence, when all around him was calm, could only be compared to the rant of intoxication in the preſence of a ſober and diſpaſſionate company: Mr. GRENVILLE, even when attacked with the utmoſt aſperity, ſhewed a perfect command of temper, and neither betrayed any ſymptoms of alarm himſelf, nor hurled the thunder of wrathful oratory at his adverſaries. This diſſimilitude of genius and character between both was ſtrongly marked in the debate on lord BARRINGTON's motion. Mr. BURKE poured forth a torrent of invectives againſt the folly and wickedneſs of the miniſters of the crown: he enlarged on the dangerous conſequences of an aſſumption and abuſe of a diſcretionary power in the commons; and called the propoſed vote of expulſion *the fifth act of a tragi-comedy, performed by his majeſty's ſervants, at the deſire of ſeveral perſons of quality, for the benefit of* Mr. WILKES, *and at the expence of the conſtitution.* Mr. GRENVILLE confined himſelf to two deciſive points, *the injuſtice and imprudence of the meaſure.* But neither the force of his arguments nor Mr. BURKE's powers of ridicule could make any impreſſion on the *dead* majorities of the miniſter.

In the courſe of the ſame year (1769) thoſe gentlemen publiſhed two pamphlets, in comparing which Mr. GRENVILLE appears to much greater diſadvantage than in the above debate. His performance

formance was entitled "The preſent State of the Nation;" and though it appeared without his name, yet it was very eaſy to diſcover that it muſt have been written by him, or under his immediate direction, and with the earl of BUTE's concurrence. It was ſoon followed by Mr. BURKE's "Obſervations;" in which he conſiders it as a ſort of digeſt of the avowed maxims of a certain political ſchool, the effects of whoſe doctrines and practices, according to his opinion, this country will feel long and ſeverely. "It is made up," ſays he, "of a farrago of almoſt every topic which has been agitated in parliamentary debate, or private converſation, for theſe ſeven laſt years. The oldeſt controverſies are hauled out of the duſt with which time and neglect had covered them. Arguments ten times repeated, a thouſand times anſwered before, are here repeated again. Public accounts formerly printed and re-printed revolve once more, and find their old ſtation in this ſober meridian. All the common-place lamentations upon the decay of trade, the increaſe of taxes, and the high price of labour and proviſions, are here retailed again and again in the ſame tone with which they have drawled through columns of Gazetteers and Advertiſers for a century together. Paradoxes which affront common ſenſe, and unintereſting barren truths which generate no concluſion, are thrown in, to augment unwieldy bulk, without adding any thing to weight. Becauſe two accuſations are better than one, contradictions are ſet ſtaring one another in the face, without even an attempt to reconcile them. And to give the whole a ſort of portentous air of labour and information, the table of the houſe of commons is ſwept into this grand reſervoir of politics. As to the compoſition, it bears a ſtriking and whimſical reſemblance to a funeral ſermon, not only in the pathetic prayer with which it concludes, but in the ſtile

and tenor of the whole performance. It is piteouſly doleful, nodding every now and then towards dullneſs; well ſtored with pious frauds; and, like moſt diſcourſes of the ſort, much better calculated for the private advantage of the preacher than the edification of the hearers."

Such is Mr. BURKE's picture of Mr. GRENVILLE's pamphlet; and it muſt be confeſſed, that the colouring, though high, is not much overcharged. The pamphlet is written in a ſtrain of querulous eloquence, as if to excite a ſort of fanatical terror for the ſalvation of the country; and to prompt the nation to throw themſelves into the hands of the author and his friends, as the only men of virtue and ability, the only perſons capable of reſtoring order to the deranged ſtate of public affairs. Mr. BURKE, in his "Obſervations," holds out ſome comfort of another kind to the people; and undertakes to prove that all the arguments contained in the pamphlet are vain and frivolous. He follows the author cloſely in his long career, through the war, the peace, the finances, our trade, and our foreign politics, with a view of ſhewing that his notions on theſe ſubjects are not only irrational, but extremely dangerous, and that if they were to crawl from pamphlets into counſels, and be realized from private ſpeculation into national meaſures, they could not fail of haſtening and completing the ruin of the ſtate.

On the ſubject of the war, Mr. BURKE maintains, in oppoſition to the writer of the pamphlet, that it was the moſt proſperous we had ever carried on in every quarter of the globe; that it was attended with the unparalleled circumſtance of an immenſe increaſe of trade and augmentation of revenue; and that the diſappointments, defeats, diſtreſſes, and irreparable loſſes of the enemy, left them entirely at our mercy, in the opinion of the whole

world,

world, "except the friends of the then miniſtry, who wept for our victories, and were in haſte to get rid of the burthen of our conqueſts."

Mr. BURKE next controverts the writer's aſſertion, *that the peace of Paris perfectly conſulted the dignity and intereſt of this country*; and enters into a long detail of facts and of arguments to demonſtrate that this boaſted treaty was deficient in all the requiſites of a good peace, *ſtability, indemnification, alliance*. He alſo points out the inaccuracy of the writer's ſtatement of the public debt, and of the intereſt it bore at the time of the treaty: he detects the diſingenuouſneſs of his complaint concerning the decline of our trade and manufactures; and aſcribes his gloomy miſrepreſentation of the ſtate of the country to the mere circumſtance of his being out of office. "The ſame ſun," ſays Mr. BURKE, "which gilds all nature, and exhilarates the whole creation, does not ſhine upon diſappointed ambition. It is ſomething that rays out of darkneſs, and inſpires nothing but gloom and melancholy. Men, in this deplorable ſtate of mind, find a comfort in ſpreading the contagion of their ſpleen. They find an advantage too; for it is a general popular error to imagine the loudeſt complainers for the public to be the moſt anxious for its welfare. If ſuch perſons can anſwer the ends of relief and profit to themſelves, they are apt to be careleſs enough about either the means or the conſequences."

When Mr. BURKE comes to review the ſchemes laid down by the author of the pamphlet for totally reverſing the diſmal poſture of affairs,---*for making us happy at home and reſpected abroad, formidable in war and flouriſhing in peace*, he lets off ſome very pointed ſarcaſms at the great financier. He thinks him a worſe

reaſoner for having been a miniſter, and ſays, "that one of his projects depends for ſucceſs upon another project, and this upon a third, all of them equally viſionary. His finance is like the Indian philoſophy: his earth is poiſed on the horns of a bull; his bull ſtands upon an elephant; his elephant is ſupported by a tortoiſe; and ſo on for ever. *** His plan of reform in the internal repreſentation of Great Britain, by enlarging the number of conſtituents; and his ſcheme of an addition to our repreſentatives, by new American members of parliament, are no leſs abſurd. Much extravagance appears without any fancy, and the judgment is ſhocked without any thing to refreſh the imagination. It looks as if the author had dropped down from the moon, without any knowledge of the general nature of this globe, of the general nature of its inhabitants, without the leaſt acquaintance with the affairs of this country."

After clearly expoſing the fallacy and abſurdity of the author's ideas on the ſubjects of war, peace, economy, finance, commerce, and conſtitutional improvement, Mr. BURKE makes a very animated reply to his heavy cenſures of the marquis of ROCKINGHAM's adminiſtration. The characters of that nobleman and his friends are highly blazoned. They are deſcribed as men of an unſhaken adherence to principle, and to connexion, againſt every allurement of intereſt. "Many of them," continues their able panegyriſt, "are of the firſt families, and weightieſt properties in the kingdom; but infinitely more diſtinguiſhed for their untainted honour public and private, and their zealous but ſober attachment to the conſtitution of their country, than they can be by any birth, or any ſtation. If they are the friends of any one great man rather than another, it is not that they make his aggrandiſement the end of their

their union; or becauſe they know him to be the moſt active in caballing for his connexions the largeſt and ſpeedieſt emoluments. It is becauſe they know him, by perſonal experience, to have wiſe and enlarged ideas of the public good, and an invincible obſtinacy in adhering to it;---becauſe they are convinced, by the whole tenor of his actions, that he will never negociate away their honour, or his own; and that, in or out of power, change of ſituation will make no alteration in his conduct. This will give to ſuch a perſon, in ſuch a body, an authority and reſpect that no miniſter ever enjoyed among his venal dependents, in the higheſt plenitude of his power; ſuch as ſervility never can give, ſuch as ambition never can receive or reliſh."

In defending the ROCKINGHAM party, Mr. BURKE takes care to retort every charge on thoſe who preceded them in office. Their ſucceſſors alſo are made the objects of ſevere animadverſion. The former were uniformly wrong in all their meaſures: the latter ſubſiſted only for the eſtabliſhment of weakneſs and confuſion. Yet he thinks that ſome of them might deſerve a certain degree of pity, while they furniſhed an example, which he hoped would have its effect, at leaſt, on the growing generation, if an original ſeduction, on plauſible but hollow pretences, into loſs of honour, friendſhip, conſiſtency, ſecurity, and repoſe, could furniſh it. Here he takes occaſion to trace, with admirable exactneſs, the gradations of political profligacy. "I believe," he ſays, "the inſtances are exceedingly rare of men's immediately paſſing over a clear marked line of virtue into declared vice and corruption. There are a ſort of middle tints and ſhades between the two extremes;---there is ſomething uncertain on the confines of the two empires which they firſt paſs through, and which renders the change eaſy and imperceptible.

There

There are even a ſort of ſplendid impoſitions ſo well contrived, that, at the very time the path of rectitude is quitted for ever, men ſeem to be advancing into ſome higher and nobler road of public conduct. Not that ſuch impoſitions are ſtrong enough in themſelves; but a powerful intereſt, often concealed from thoſe whom it affects, works at the bottom, and ſecures the operation. Men are thus debauched away from thoſe legitimate connexions, which they had formed on a judgment, early perhaps, but ſufficiently mature, and wholly unbiaſſed. They do not quit them upon any ground of complaint, for grounds of juſt complaint may exiſt, but upon the flattering and moſt dangerous of all principles, that of mending what is well. Gradually they are habituated to other company; and a change in their habitudes ſoon makes a way for a change in their opinions. Certain perſons are no longer ſo very frightful, when they come to be known and to be ſerviceable. As to their old friends, the tranſition is eaſy, from friendſhip to civility,---from civility to enmity:---few are the ſteps from dereliction to perſecution. *** Every former profeſſion of public ſpirit is conſidered as a debauch of youth, or, at beſt, as a viſionary ſcheme of unattainable perfection. The very idea of conſiſtency is exploded. The convenience of the buſineſs of the day is to furniſh the principle for doing it. *** Flattering themſelves that their power is become neceſſary to the ſupport of all order and government; every thing which tends to the ſupport of that power is ſanctified. *** They are delivered up into the hands of thoſe who feel neither reſpect for their perſons, nor gratitude for their favors. *** At length, they are caſt off with ſcorn; they are turned out, emptied of all natural character, of all intrinſic worth,

worth, of all eſſential dignity, and deprived of every conſolation of friendſhip. Having rendered all retreat to old principles ridiculous, and to old regards impracticable, not being able to counterfeit pleaſure, or to diſcharge diſcontent, nothing being ſincere, or right, or balanced in their minds, it is more than a chance, that, in the delirium of the laſt ſtage of their diſtempered power, they make an inſane political teſtament, by which they throw all their remaining weight and conſequence into the ſcale of their declared enemies." The beſt comment on theſe extracts will be found in earl FITZWILLIAM's printed letters to the earl of CARLISLE, and in his famous proteſt, entered upon the journals of the houſe of lords at the beginning of laſt ſeſſion. The member for Peterborough, in like manner, the avowed *pupil of the old ſchool*, the advocate for eternal war, whoſe profeſſion has led him to a nice examination of wills, may be appealed to as a very proper judge whether that proteſt, which bears ſtrong marks of Mr. BURKE's dictation, ought or ought not to be conſidered as an *inſane political teſtament*.

If, from this review of political "Obſervations," we turn our attention to a public diſcourſe, delivered at the opening of the Royal Academy a few months before by ſir JOSHUA REYNOLDS, but written by Mr. BURKE, we ſhall find new reaſons to admire the verſatility of his talents, the almoſt unbounded expanſion of his genius. Before the cloſe of the year 1768, that Academy had been inſtituted under the king's immediate patronage, and ſubject to the direction of forty artiſts of the firſt rank in their ſeveral profeſſions. The great object of the inſtitution was the eſtabliſhment of well-regulated ſchools of deſign, where ſtudents in the arts might find proper inſtruction, and the beſt helps as well as incentives to aſpiring genius, without going in ſearch of them to

foreign

foreign countries. The pupils were to have the fineſt living models, and choice caſts of the moſt celebrated antiques, to copy after. Nine academicians, elected annually from among the forty, were to attend the ſchools by rotation, to ſet the figures, to examine the performances of the ſtudents, to promote their improvement, and to fix their attention upon that branch of the arts in which they appeared moſt likely to excel. Profeſſors of painting, of architecture, of perſpective, and of anatomy, were alſo appointed with liberal ſalaries, to read annually a certain number of public lectures in the ſchools; and the admiſſion to theſe and all the other advantages of the inſtitution was made free to every perſon properly qualified to benefit by the ſtudies there cultivated. That nothing might be wanting to rouze and encourage emulation, prizes were held out to thoſe who made the neareſt approaches to perfection, and the diſtribution of them every year was to be accompanied by a ſuitable diſcourſe from ſir JOSHUA REYNOLDS, whom his majeſty had placed in the preſident's chair.

As the Academy was to be opened on the ſecond of January 1769 with an addreſs from the preſident, Mr. BURKE prepared for the taſk with all the enthuſiaſtic ardor, which friendſhip, gratitude, and a noble conſciouſneſs of his equality to the attempt, could inſpire. This was a glorious occaſion to ſhew a juſt ſenſe of ſir JOSHUA's unparalleled liberality, and in return to afford him the fulleſt gratification of his wiſhes, to raiſe him at once to the very pinnacle of oratorical as well as profeſſional eminence. The beſt things that had ever before appeared upon the ſubject ſink into inſignificance when compared with that maſterpiece of eloquence. In deſcribing the purpoſes of the inſtitution, the writer obſerved, "that it would at leaſt contribute to advance the knowledge of the arts, and *bring us nearer to that* IDEAL EXCELLENCE,

LENCE, *which it was the lot of* GENIUS ALWAYS *to* CONTEMPLATE *and* NEVER *to* ATTAIN." This ſentiment none but a genius of the firſt order, conſcious to the idea of unattainable perfection and a perpetual effort to approach it, could have conceived. Then how juſt and beautiful is the remark, that "every ſeminary of learning may be ſaid to be *ſurrounded by an atmoſphere of floating knowledge, where every mind may gather ſomething congenial to its own original conceptions!* Knowledge," he adds, "thus obtained, has always ſomething more popular and uſeful, than that which is forced upon the mind by private precepts or ſolitary meditation. Beſides, it is generally found, that a youth more eaſily receives inſtructions from the companions of his ſtudies, whoſe minds are nearly upon a level with his own, than from thoſe who are much his ſuperiors; and it is from his equals only, that he catches the fire of emulation, which will not a little contribute to his advancement." The *ſtudy of nature* and an implicit obedience to *the rules of art* are ſhewn to be perfectly compatible. From an acquaintance with nature we are to form conceptions; but art is to teach us in what manner they may be beſt expreſſed. "Every opportunity ſhould be taken to diſcountenance that falſe and vulgar opinion, that *rules are the fetters of genius:* they are fetters only to men of *no genius;* as that armour, which upon the ſtrong becomes an ornament and a defence, upon the weak and miſhapen turns into a load, and cripples the body which it was made to protect."

It is not eaſy to reſiſt the temptation of making larger extracts from this wonderful performance, and from the other diſcourſes, prepared by the ſame writer, executed in the ſame ſtile, and delivered by the preſident at the annual diſtribution of prizes during his continuance in the chair. But the tiſſue is ſo finely woven

and ſo judiciouſly connected, that it would be a ſort of unpardonable violence to tear it into ſhreds: or rather, we may apply to thoſe diſcourſes Dr. JOHNSON's remark on the plays of SHAKESPEARE, "that whoever wiſhes to recommend them by particular paſſages, will ſucceed like the pedant in HYEROCLES, who, when he had a houſe for ſale, carried a brick in his pocket as a ſpecimen." Thoſe diſcourſes muſt be read, not in parts, but wholly, in order to form an adequate idea of their merit. It would have been ſaid in ancient times, that the God of Painting and the God of Eloquence had inſpired every idea, and dictated every line. Such of them as ſir JOSHUA publiſhed were ſoon tranſlated into the languages of the moſt poliſhed nations in Europe; and thus, while they ſpread the reputation of the ſuppoſed author, they had a powerful tendency in every country to fan the flame of youthful ardor, to unfold the true principles and laws of compoſition, to ſtrengthen the judgment, refine the taſte, and impreſs upon the fancy the ſtrongeſt images of real beauty and grandeur.

A ſhort account of the manner in which thoſe diſcourſes were written will not be deemed unintereſting. Sir JOSHUA firſt made out a ſketch of the ſubject, and furniſhed ſuch hints as chiefly related to painting and ſculpture. Theſe Mr. BURKE took for his text, but did not reſtrain the effuſions of his own genius upon any topic ariſing out of, or naturally connected with them. A copy was then ſent to ſir JOSHUA, who, at his leiſure, ſuperadded any new ideas that occurred to him, and returned the performance interlined with thoſe farther ſuggeſtions. Again the orator exerted his powers; and it frequently happened that the piece was re-written in this manner five or ſix times with continual improvements, before it received the laſt finiſhing touches of the great maſter. Thus did Mr. BURKE purſue

purſue with unwearied aſſiduity the method of the moſt eminent painters in their endeavours to approach perfection. "When," ſays he, "they had conceived a ſubject, they firſt made a variety of ſketches, then a finiſhed drawing of the whole; after that a more correct drawing of every ſeparate part, heads, hands, feet, and pieces of drapery; then they painted the picture; and after all re-touched it from the life. The pictures, thus wrought with ſuch pains, now appear like the effect of enchantment, as if ſome mighty genius had ſtruck them off at a blow." In the ſame manner, Mr. BURKE's compoſitions, though the reſult of indefatigable labour, have all the appearance of natural eaſe, and ſeem, as it were, to flow in rapid profuſion from the pen of the writer.

The ſhare Mr. BURKE had in this great undertaking was for many years concealed not only from the public, but from the moſt intimate friends of both parties, with impenetrable ſecrecy. It is alſo a matter of no ſmall ſurpriſe, that Dr. JOHNSON, and ſome other very accurate judges of ſtile, were not ſtruck with the characteriſtical beauties of Mr. BURKE in every ſentence of thoſe famous diſcourſes: but his name was never coupled with them: the eye of ſuſpicion never glanced at him; and it is probable that the ſecret would have been buried with him, had not the aſſiſtance of his ſecretary been found neceſſary in making out fair copies, when the weakneſs of ſir JOSHUA's ſight, a few years before his death, made the reading of Mr. BURKE's indiſtinct and crowded manuſcripts extremely difficult. As men of very mild, unaſſuming manners, and who do not make a brilliant figure in company, are often found to write well, the ſame favorable opinion was formed of ſir JOSHUA by his literary friends, who could not help remarking the immenſe ſuperiority of his public diſcourſes to his private converſation. Mr. COURTENAY, in his

" Moral and Literary Character of Dr. JOHNSON," after mentioning that writer's influence on our compoſition in general, cites particular inſtances of perſons who might be ſaid to have improved their ſtile by his example; among the reſt,

" To fame's proud cliff he bade our RAPHAEL riſe;
" Hence REYNOLDS' pen with REYNOLDS' pencil vies."

But, if ſir JOSHUA had truſted to his own pen, its productions would have fallen far ſhort of the magic creation of his pencil, and would have left him at the foot, inſtead of raiſing him to the ſummit of the cliff. Yet, it muſt be obſerved, that ſir JOSHUA himſelf was very willing to encourage the idea of his being under an obligation of that ſort to Dr. JOHNSON, with a view, no doubt, of diverting conjecture from his real aſſiſtant. " Whatever merit," ſays he, ſpeaking of his diſcourſes, " they have, muſt be imputed in a great meaſure to the education which I may be ſaid to have had under Dr. JOHNSON. I do not mean to ſay he contributed even a ſingle ſentiment to them; but he qualified my mind to think juſtly." A juſtneſs of conception is certainly the firſt requiſite; but that alone would not have obtained for ſir JOSHUA the palm of profeſſional eloquence, had not his conceptions been clothed in the ſplendid, copious, and animated language of Mr. BURKE.

In the year 1790, ſir JOSHUA's infirmities made him reſolve to quit the chair which he had filled with ſo much honour. Mr. BURKE wrote his letter of reſignation to the king; and the earl of CARLISLE publiſhed a little poem on the occaſion, expreſſing his regret at the diſcontinuance of ſuch valuable and eloquent inſtructions to young painters. The following paſſage has been juſtly admired for its exquiſite beauty:

" And muſt no more thy pure and claſſic page
" Unfold its treaſures to the riſing age;

" Nor

" Nor from thy own Athenian temple pour,
" On liſt'ning youth, of art the copious ſtore;
" Hold up to labour independent eaſe,
" And teach ambition all the ways to pleaſe?"

Sir JOSHUA did not long enjoy the ſweet odour of this poetical offering. He died on the twenty-third of February 1792, having left the greater part of his vaſt fortune to Miſs Palmer, his niece; but not forgetting to give Mr. BURKE a ſtrong proof of his liberal and ſincere regard. He cancelled a bond for two thouſand pounds which he had lent to Mr. BURKE, and added to that favor a bequeſt of two thouſand pounds more. What other ſums Mr. BURKE had received from ſir JOSHUA in the courſe of their acquaintance we cannot now aſcertain; but there is reaſon to believe, that, as Mr. BURKE's emergencies were great and frequent, ſo were in like manner ſir JOSHUA's ſupplies. But a man ſo ambitious of literary fame as the preſident, and in a ſtate of ſo much affluence, could hardly deem any purchaſe or any return too high for the gratification of his fondeſt wiſhes. Sir JOSHUA was buried with great ſolemnity on the third of March; and an account of the ceremonial was drawn up by Mr. BURKE and Mr. MALONE at the houſe of Mr. METCALFE in Saville Row, who had been appointed, in ſir JOSHUA's will, joint executor with them. The ſketch of his character, which has alſo been publiſhed, was wholly the compoſition of Mr. BURKE, and deſerves particular notice as a fine ſpecimen of the ſimplicity and pathos which ſhould always be united in funeral panegyrics.

" His illneſs was long," ſays the mourner, " but borne with a mild and chearful fortitude, without the leaſt mixture of any thing irritable or querulous, agreeably to the placid and even tenor of his whole life. He had from the beginning of his malady a diſtinct view of his diſſolution; and he contemplated it with that

that entire compoſure, which nothing but the innocence, integrity, and uſefulneſs of his life, and an unaffected ſubmiſſion to the will of providence, could beſtow. In this ſituation he had every conſolation from family tenderneſs which his own kindneſs had, indeed, well deſerved.

" Sir JOSHUA REYNOLDS was indeed on very many accounts one of the moſt memorable men of his time. He was the firſt Engliſhman who added the praiſe of the elegant arts to the other glories of his country. In taſte, in grace, in facility, in happy invention, and in the richneſs and harmony of colouring, he was equal to the great maſters of the renowned ages. In Portrait he went far beyond them; for he communicated to that deſcription of the art, in which Engliſh artiſts are the moſt engaged, a variety, a fancy, and a dignity derived from the higher branches, which even thoſe who profeſſed them in a ſuperior manner did not always preſerve, when they delineated individual nature. His Portraits remind the ſpectator of the invention of Hiſtory, and the amenity of Landſcape. In painting portraits, he appeared not to be raiſed upon that platform, but to deſcend to it from a higher ſphere. His paintings illuſtrate his leſſons, and his leſſons ſeem to be derived from his paintings.

" He poſſeſſed the theory as perfectly as the practice of his art. To be ſuch a painter, he was a profound and penetrating philoſopher.

" In full aſſurance of foreign and domeſtic fame, admired by the expert in art and the learned in ſcience, courted by the great, careſſed by ſovereign powers, and celebrated by diſtinguiſhed poets, his native humility, modeſty, and candor, never forſook him, even on ſurpriſe or provocation; nor was the leaſt degree of arrogance or aſſumption viſible to the moſt ſcrutinizing eye, in any part of his conduct or diſcourſe.

" His

"His talents of every kind, powerful from nature, and not meanly cultivated by letters, his ſocial virtues in all the relations and all the habitudes of life, rendered him the centre of a very great and unparalleled variety of ſocieties, which will be diſſipated by his death. He had too much merit not to excite ſome jealouſy, too much innocence to provoke any enmity. The loſs of no man of his time can be felt with more ſincere, general, and unmixed ſorrow."

Here is a portrait of greater beauty and greater permanence than the moſt admired that ever was produced by the pencil of the artiſt whom it commemorates. The vivid colours of the fineſt painting are liable to fade, or to ſtart from the canvas: even the marble buſt melts away under the diſſolving touch of time. Poetry and Eloquence alone can erect monuments which will deſcend unimpaired to the remoteſt poſterity. Beſides, pictures and ſtatues exhibit only an outward likeneſs, a mere perſonal reſemblance of the illuſtrious dead; and can be ſhewn but to a few friends in our own houſes. Of what ineſtimable value then are thoſe productions of genius, which repreſent the ſoul itſelf in all its beauty; which are ſo eaſily ſpread abroad; which paſs into all languages; fly through all parts; and ſerve as originals in all ages! Had Mr. BURKE never before written a line for ſir JOSHUA, this ſingle tribute of gratitude and affection would more than diſcharge all the obligations which ſir JOSHUA's generoſity had laid him under.

But we have had another reaſon for dwelling ſo much on the account of the funeral ceremony and this maſterly delineation of ſir JOSHUA's character. Mr. MALONE muſt recollect that the fair copies of them were in the ſame hand-writing as the manuſcript copies of ſeveral of ſir JOSHUA's diſcourſes. The correſpondence

reſpondence or ſimilarity of the penmanſhip might have led a ſcholar of far leſs critical acumen than Mr. MALONE to a diſcovery of the author. After expoſing a modern forgery by learned comments on the particular twiſt or turn of a flouriſh in the ſignature of an old woman who died almoſt two hundred years ago, Mr. MALONE would render his ſagacity very queſtionable, were he to continue blind to the evidence drawn from papers, ſome of which were written almoſt under his own inſpection. But it is hoped that neither falſe pride, nor an unwillingneſs to retract and avow an error, will prevent Mr. MALONE from doing ſtrict and impartial juſtice to the memories of both his deceaſed friends in a ſecond edition of what he has called, under the influence of miſtake, the Works of ſir JOSHUA REYNOLDS.

After this ſtatement of facts, it is unneceſſary no refute in detail ſome inſinuations which have been lately thrown out of Dr. JOHNSON's having aſſiſted in writing the Academical Diſcourſes. We have inſerted ſir JOSHUA's expreſs declaration to the contrary: we have ſhewn who the real author was; and if we had no other proof, an attentive peruſal of all the Doctor's works would convince us, that the moſt vigorous and brilliant diſplay of his talents could not reach the compoſition of thoſe inimitable lectures. The Doctor's writings, particularly on moral ſubjects, are entitled to the juſteſt applauſe; but he had not BURKE's fire of genius, luxuriance of fancy, and perennial flow of eloquence. He could not, like the latter, ſpread new glory over the elegant arts, and unfold to the view of an admiring world that ſecond order of elements, of which providence had kindly reſerved the creation for human induſtry.

Dr. JOHNSON was equally inferior to Mr. BURKE in the diſcuſſion of political topics. The ſame ſubject was handled by both

both ſoon after the above-deſcribed inſtitution of the Royal Academy. The violent, intemperate, and diſgraceful proceedings of the houſe of commons in the affair of the Middleſex election threw at that time the whole kingdom into a flame, and excited no ſmall degree of alarm at ſo flagrant a breach of the conſtitution. Dr. JOHNSON, under the influence of his old tory prejudices, endeavoured to juſtify the conduct of the miniſtry and of their corrupt majorities, and to make us believe that the popular *alarm* was *falſe*. But his reaſoning, though ſpecious, was very inconcluſive; and under the ſhew of allaying the turbulent ſpirit of the times, he ſtrives to infuſe into the people a ſort of apathy, or ſtupid indifference to public concerns. We may ſay of his pamphlet what HAYLEY ſo juſtly obſerves of HUME's works,

> " Our hearts more free from faction's weeds we feel;
> " But we have loſt the flower of patriot zeal."

The ſtile of the " Falſe Alarm" is alſo very much diſfigured by the coarſeneſs of vulgar abuſe; and an air of contemptuous inſolence deſtroys the effect of many of the writer's moſt pointed ſarcaſms.

Mr. BURKE's pamphlet, which was publiſhed about the ſame time, and is entitled " Thoughts on the Cauſe of the preſent Diſcontents," may be juſtly numbered among the beſt political tracts that have ever appeared in the Engliſh language. He probed the *dry rot* of the conſtitution to the bottom: he drew a forcible and impreſſive picture of the national grievances: he reviewed with penetrating eye all the changes of ſyſtem which had been adopted ſince the death of the late king: he uncovered the maſked batteries of the *double cabinet*; and laid open the ſprings that put every ſtate-puppet in motion: he

traced the progreſs of influence, that leſs odious, but more powerful ſubſtitute for prerogative, operating without noiſe and without violence, converting the very antagoniſt into the inſtrument of power, containing in itſelf a perpetual principle of growth and renovation, and which the diſtreſſes and the proſperity of the country equally tended to augment: in ſhort, he left no ſource of the public grievances unexplored, but demonſtrated very clearly that they aroſe from the eſtabliſhment of court favoritiſm, from the diverſion and diſconnexion of parties, from the prevalence of corruption in the houſe of commons, the ſubſerviency of the national repreſentatives to the will of the miniſter, and their total diſregard of the wants or wiſhes of their conſtituents. Such is the outline of the piece—Let us now take a glance at the internal colouring.

Mr. BURKE's firſt care is to fix the attention of the reader on the juſt and ſerious grounds of alarm which the poſture of affairs at that time afforded. "That the government," ſays he, "is at once dreaded and contemned; that the laws are deſpoiled of all their reſpected and ſalutary terrors; that their inaction is a ſubject of ridicule, and their exertion of abhorrence; that rank, and office, and title, and all the ſolemn plauſibilities of the world, have loſt their reverence and effect; that our foreign politics are as much deranged as our domeſtic œconomy; that our dependencies are ſlackened in their affection, and looſened from their obedience; that we know neither how to yield nor how to inforce; that hardly any thing above or below, abroad or at home, is ſound and entire; but that diſconnexion and confuſion, in offices, in parties, in families, in parliament, in the nation, prevail beyond the diſorders of any former time: theſe are facts univerſally admitted and lamented." He examines the ſpeculations

lations of the miniſtry on the cauſe of ſo ſtrange a diſtemper. It was pretended, " that the increaſe of our trade and manufactures, that our growth by colonization and by conqueſt, had concurred to accumulate immenſe wealth in the hands of ſome individuals; and this again having been diſperſed among the people, had rendered them univerſally proud, ferocious, and ungovernable; that the inſolence of ſome from their enormous wealth, and the boldneſs of others from a guilty poverty, had rendered them capable of the moſt atrocious attempts; ſo that they had trampled upon all ſubordination, and violently borne down the unarmed laws of a free government; barriers too feeble againſt the fury of a populace ſo fierce and licentious as ours." Were ſuch an account a true one, Mr. BURKE aſſerts, that nothing could be more unnatural than the convulſions of the country, as the account would reſolve itſelf into this ſhort, but diſcouraging propoſition, *that we had a very good miniſtry, but that we were a very bad people*;—that we ſet ourſelves to bite the hand which fed us;—that, with a malignant inſanity, we oppoſed the meaſures, and ungratefully vilified the perſons of thoſe, whoſe ſole object was our own peace and proſperity. Beſides, it would be no ſmall aggravation of the public misfortune, that the diſeaſe, on ſuch an hypotheſis, appeared to be without a remedy. " If," ſays he, " the wealth of the nation be the cauſe of its turbulence, I imagine it is not propoſed to introduce poverty, as a conſtable to keep the peace. If our dominions abroad are the roots which feed all this rank luxuriance of ſedition, it is not intended to cut them off in order to famiſh the fruit. If our liberty has enfeebled the executive power, there is no deſign, I hope, to call in the aid of deſpotiſm, to fill up the deficiencies of law." At a later period, no doubt,

Mr. WINDHAM, in friendly confidence, undeceived Mr. BURKE, and convinced him that poverty,---that private and national bankruptcy,---that the diſmemberment of the empire, and a daring ſtretch or exertion of power *beyond the law*, were the beſt means of allaying all heats, whether they aroſe from the ſettled miſmanagement of the government, or from a natural ill diſpoſition in the people. That gentleman, ſo much admired for the acuteneſs of his reaſoning and the great benignity of his ſentiments, would eaſily have ſatisfied Mr. BURKE that the people are always in the wrong;---that their voice and temper are matters of equal inſignificance;—that in all diſputes between them and their rulers, the preſumption is never upon a par in favor of the people;---that, where popular diſcontents are very prevalent, it is a libel to affirm that there is any thing amiſs in the conduct of government; and that a man ought to be tried, under the ſedition act, for aſſerting, as Mr. BURKE then did, "that the people have no intereſt in diſorder;---that, when they do wrong, it is their error, and not their crime; but that, with the governing part of the ſtate, it is far otherwiſe, as they may certainly act ill by deſign, as well as by miſtake."

Theſe remarks are followed by an hiſtorical ſketch of the origin, conſtitution, laws, and policy of the *double cabinet*,---of that ſyſtem, the great object of which was *to ſecure to the court the unlimited and uncontrouled uſe of its own vaſt influence, under the ſole direction of its own private favor*. "This project," ſays Mr. BURKE, "I have heard, was firſt conceived by ſome perſons in the court of FREDERICK, prince of Wales. The earlieſt attempt in the execution of the deſign was to ſet up for miniſter a perſon, in rank indeed reſpectable, and very ample in fortune, but who, to the moment of this vaſt and ſudden elevation, was little

little known or conſidered in the kingdom. To him the whole nation was to yield an immediate and implicit ſubmiſſion. But whether it was for want of firmneſs to bear up againſt the firſt oppoſition, or that things were not yet fully ripened, or that this method was not found the moſt eligible, that idea was ſoon abandoned. The inſtrumental part of the project was a little altered, to accommodate it to the time, and to bring things more gradually and more ſurely to the one great end propoſed. The firſt part of the reformed plan was to draw *a line which ſhould ſeparate the court from the miniſtry*. Hitherto theſe names had been looked upon as ſynonimous; but, for the future, court and adminiſtration were to be conſidered as things totally diſtinct. By this operation, two ſyſtems of adminiſtration were to be formed; one which ſhould be in the real ſecret and confidence; the other merely oſtenſible, to perform the official and executory duties of government. The latter were alone to be reſponſible; whilſt the real adviſers, who enjoyed all the power, were effectually removed from all the danger. Secondly, *a party under theſe leaders was to be formed in favor of the court againſt the miniſtry:* this party was to have a large ſhare in the emoluments of government, and to hold it totally ſeparate from, and independent of, oſtenſible adminiſtration. The third point, and that on which the ſucceſs of the whole ſcheme ultimately depended, was *to bring parliament to an acquieſcence in this project*. Parliament was therefore to be taught by degrees a total indifference to the perſons, rank, influence, abilities, connexions, and character, of the miniſters of the crown. By means of a particular diſcipline, that body was to be habituated to the moſt oppoſite intereſts, and the moſt diſcordant politics. All connexions and dependencies among ſubjects were to be entirely diſſolved. As hitherto buſineſs had gone through the hands

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of Whigs or Tories, men of talents to conciliate the people and to engage their confidence, now the method was to be altered, and the lead was to be given to men of no ſort of conſideration or credit in the country. This want of natural importance was to be their very title to delegated power. Members of parliament were to be hardened into an inſenſibility to pride as well as to duty. Thoſe high and haughty ſentiments, which are the great ſupport of independence, were to be let down gradually. Point of honour and precedence were no more to be regarded in parliamentary decorum, than in a Turkiſh army. It was to be avowed as a conſtitutional maxim, that the king might appoint one of his footmen, or one of your footmen, for miniſter; and that he ought to be, and that he would be, as well followed as the firſt name for rank or wiſdom in the nation. Thus parliament was to look on, as if perfectly unconcerned, while *a cabal of the cloſet and back-ſtairs* was ſubſtituted in the place of a national adminiſtration."

Mr. BURKE then ſhews how univerſal ſervility muſt reſult from ſuch a degree of parliamentary acquieſcence. The incitements to this new ſcheme, the plan adopted for carrying it into execution, and the effects it produced, are deſcribed with the united force of truth and eloquence; and are indeed, as the writer obſerves, worthy of our moſt ſerious conſideration. After a juſt view of the ſingular advantages with which his majeſty came to the throne of theſe kingdoms, Mr. BURKE is willing to believe that they muſt have inſpired his majeſty with a more ardent deſire to preſerve unimpaired the ſpirit of that national freedom, to which he owed a ſituation ſo full of glory; but to others the ſame circumſtances ſuggeſted ſentiments of a very different nature. They thought they now beheld an opportunity of drawing to themſelves, by the aggrandiſement of a court faction, a degree of

power

power which they could never hope to derive from natural influence or from honourable ſervice; and which it was impoſſible they could hold with the leaſt ſecurity, whilſt the ſyſtem of adminiſtration reſted upon its former bottom. To facilitate their purpoſes, many alterations of political arrangement, and a ſignal change of opinions and habits in the great actors on the public ſtage, were neceſſary. "In the firſt place," ſays this accurate detector of their intrigues, "they proceeded gradually, but not ſlowly, to deſtroy every thing of ſtrength which did not derive its principal nouriſhment from the immediate pleaſure of the court. The greateſt weight of popular opinion and party connexion were then with the duke of NEWCASTLE and Mr. PITT. Neither of theſe held their importance by the *new tenure* of the court: they were not therefore thought to be ſo proper as others for the ſervices which were required by that tenure. It happened very favorably for the new ſyſtem, that, under *a forced coalition*, there rankled an incurable alienation and diſguſt between the parties which compoſed the adminiſtration. Mr. PITT was firſt attacked. Not ſatisfied with removing him from power, they endeavoured by various artifices to ruin his character. The other party ſeemed rather pleaſed to get rid of ſo oppreſſive a ſupport; not perceiving, that their own fall was prepared by his, and involved in it. Many other reaſons prevented them from daring to look their true ſituation in the face. To the great Whig families it was extremely diſagreeable, and ſeemed almoſt unnatural, to oppoſe the adminiſtration of a prince of the houſe of BRUNSWICK. Day after day they heſitated, and doubted, and lingered, expecting that other counſels would take place; and were ſlow to be perſuaded, that all which had been done by the cabal, was the effect not of humour, but of ſyſtem. It was more ſtrongly

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and evidently the intereſt of the new court faction, to get rid of the great Whig connexions, than to deſtroy Mr. PITT. The power of that gentleman was vaſt indeed and merited; but it was in a great degree perſonal, and therefore tranſient. Theirs was rooted in the country. For, with a good deal leſs of popularity, they poſſeſſed a more fixed influence. Long poſſeſſion of government; vaſt property; obligations of favors given and received; connexion of office; ties of blood, of alliance, of friendſhip *(things at that time ſuppoſed of ſome force)*; the name of Whig, dear to the majority of the people; the zeal early begun and ſteadily continued to the royal family; all theſe together formed a body of power in the nation, which was criminal and devoted. The great ruling principle of the cabal, and that which animated and harmonized all their proceedings, how various ſoever they may have been, was to ſignify to the world, that the court would proceed upon its own proper forces only; and that the pretence of bringing any other into its ſervice was an affront to it, and not a ſupport. Therefore, when the chiefs were removed, in order to go to the root, the whole party was put under a proſcription, ſo general and ſevere as to take their hard-earned bread from the loweſt officers, in a manner which had never been known before, even in general revolutions. But it was thought neceſſary effectually to deſtroy all dependencies but one; and to ſhew an example of the firmneſs and rigour with which the new ſyſtem was to be ſupported. Thus for the time were pulled down, in the perſons of the whig leaders and of Mr. PITT (in ſpite of the ſervices of the one at the acceſſion of the royal family, and the recent ſervices of the other in the war) the *two only ſecurities for the importance of the people; power ariſing from popularity; and power ariſing from connexion.*"

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In order to delude the public, and prevent any dangerous ſhock to government from thoſe rapid changes, the political hiſtorian tells us, " that the cabal ſet out with the moſt aſtoniſhing prudery. Thoſe, who in a few months after ſouſed over head and ears into the deepeſt and dirtieſt pits of corruption, cried out violently againſt the indirect practices in the electing and managing of parliaments, which had formerly prevailed. *** A perſpective view of the court gorgeouſly painted, and finely illuminated from within, was exhibited to the gaping multitude. Party was to be totally done away, with all its evil works. Corruption was to be caſt down from court, as *Até* was from heaven. Power was to be thenceforward the choſen reſidence of public ſpirit; and no one was to be ſuppoſed under any ſiniſter influence, except thoſe who had the misfortune to be in diſgrace at court, which was to ſtand in lieu of all vices and all corruptions.—A ſcheme of perfection to be realized in a monarchy far beyond the viſionary republic of PLATO! The whole ſcenery was exactly diſpoſed to captivate thoſe good ſouls, whoſe credulous morality is ſo invaluable a treaſure to crafty politicians. Indeed there was wherewithal to charm every body, except thoſe few who are not much pleaſed with profeſſions of ſupernatural virtue, who know of what ſtuff ſuch profeſſions are made, for what purpoſes they are deſigned, and in what they are ſure conſtantly to end. Many innocent gentlemen, who had been talking proſe all their lives without knowing any thing of the matter, began at laſt to open their eyes upon their own merits, and to attribute their not having been lords of the treaſury and lords of trade many years before, merely to the prevalence of party, and to the miniſterial power, which had fruſtrated the good intentions of the court in favor of their abilities. Now was the time to unlock the ſealed fountain of royal bounty, which had been infamouſly monopolized and huckſtered,

and to let it flow at large upon the whole people. The time was come to reſtore royalty to its original ſplendor; *** and it was conſtantly in the mouths of all the runners of the court, that nothing could preſerve the balance of the conſtitution from being overturned by the rabble, or by a faction of the nobility, but to free the ſovereign effectually from that miniſterial tyranny under which the royal dignity had been oppreſſed in the perſon of his majeſty's grand-father."

Here Mr. BURKE takes occaſion to vindicate the late reign from ſuch injurious aſperſions. His panegyric on the deceaſed monarch is equally remarkable for its beauty and conciſeneſs. "In times full of doubt and danger to his perſon and family, GEORGE II. maintained the dignity of his crown connected with the liberty of his people, not only unimpaired, but improved, for the ſpace of thirty-three years. He overcame a dangerous rebellion, abetted by foreign force, and raging in the heart of his kingdoms; and thereby deſtroyed the ſeeds of all future rebellion that could ariſe upon the ſame principle. He carried the glory, the power, the commerce of England, to an height unknown even to this renowned nation in the times of its greateſt proſperity; and he left his ſucceſſion reſting on the true and only true foundations of all national and all regal greatneſs; affection at home, reputation abroad, truſt in allies, terror in rival nations. The moſt ardent lover of his country cannot wiſh for Great Britain an happier fate than to continue as ſhe was then left. A people emulous as we are in affection to our preſent ſovereign, know not how to form a prayer to heaven for a greater bleſſing upon his virtues, or an higher ſtate of felicity and glory, than that he ſhould live, and ſhould reign, and, when providence ordains it, ſhould die, exactly like his illuſtrious predeceſſor."

Among

Among other devices made uſe of by the *cabal* to give plauſibility to their own meaſures, and in addition to their indirect ſatires on the politics of the former reign, they ſtrove alternately to terrify the great and opulent with the horrors of mob-government, and to alarm the people with a phantom of tyranny in the nobles. All this, Mr. BURKE aſſerts, was done upon their favorite principle of diſunion, of ſowing jealouſies amongſt the different orders of the ſtate, and of disjointing the natural ſtrength of the kingdom. He had already ſhewn the abſurdity of imputing to the people ſuch *inſane* deſigns: he now defends the juſt influence which ſome of the peers have derived from their property, and which others have acquired by their uniform, upright, conſtitutional conduct, by their public and their private virtues: but to prevent, at the ſame time, any ſuſpicion of his being an advocate for overgrown power in the nobles, he adds, "I am no friend to ariſtocracy, in the ſenſe at leaſt in which that word is uſually underſtood. If it were not a bad habit to *moot* caſes on the ſuppoſed ruin of the conſtitution, I ſhould be free to declare, that if it muſt periſh, I would rather by far ſee it reſolved into any other form, than loſt in *that auſtere and inſolent domination.*" The frightful ſpectre of French democracy had not then preſented itſelf to Mr. BURKE's ſcared imagination: ſo far from conſidering the *lower orders* as a *ſwiniſh multitude*, he maintained with the greateſt appearance of zeal and ſincerity, and with irreſiſtible force of argument, that the greatneſs of a peer, and the real dignity of a king, were nothing more than the effects and pledges of the importance of the people. *Periſh the nobility! live the people!* was at that time, and for many years after, his avowed ſentiment. His language was ſtronger, if poſſible, in the debate on the juſtice and policy of

giving the Canadians a trial by jury in 1774. He ſaid, that, "if the *nobleſſe* were the only perſons, as they appeared to be by the evidences at the bar, who were againſt the Engliſh laws, *he would ſacrifice them and all the nobleſſe of England and other countries*, but he would make the *people happy*."

Having fairly diſcuſſed the ſeveral topics choſen by the courtiers to recommend their ſyſtem, Mr. BURKE follows them through all the windings of their political labyrinth. He expoſes the ſubtlety with which they allured all ſorts of parties into office, whence few had the good fortune to eſcape without diſgrace, and none without conſiderable loſs. In the beginning of each arrangement no profeſſions of confidence and ſupport were wanting, to induce the leading men to engage. But while the miniſters of the day appeared in all the pomp and pride of power, while they had all their canvas ſpread out to the wind, and every ſail filled with the fair and proſperous gale of royal favor, in a ſhort time they found, they knew not how, a current, which ſet directly againſt them; which prevented all progreſs; and even drove them backwards. With the loſs of temper and dignity they ſoon loſt their offices, and always found themſelves reduced in ſtrength by the ſhort poſſeſſion of power. When any adverſe connexion was to be deſtroyed, the *cabal* ſeldom appeared in the work. They found out ſome perſon of whom the party entertained an high opinion. Such a perſon they endeavoured to delude with various pretences. They taught him firſt to diſtruſt, and then to quarrel with his friends; among whom, by the ſame arts, they excited a ſimilar diffidence of him; ſo that, in this mutual fear and diſtruſt, he might ſuffer himſelf to be employed as the inſtrument in the change which was to be brought about. When ſuch a perſon broke in this,

this manner with his connexions, he was ſoon compelled to commit ſome flagrant act of iniquitous perſonal hoſtility againſt ſome of them, by which the *cabal* were ſure to render the parties utterly irreconcileable. Here Mr. BURKE appears to be deſcribing not only hiſtorically what had taken place before the time in which he wrote this pamphlet, but prophetically what was to take place afterwards. Could we forget the date of the publication, we ſhould think it a diſcovery of the horrid intrigues towards the cloſe of the year 1792, in which he himſelf was the principal agent: we ſhould look upon it as an authentic account of that ſhameleſs and deteſtable coalition which he then brought about, and which has conſigned ſome of his deluded friends to eternal impotence, and the reſt to eternal infamy.

To ſuch wicked artifices, to ſuch an unnatural infuſion of court favoritiſm into a popular government, Mr. BURKE aſcribes every public ferment and public calamity. He conſiders the whole ſcheme as "the fountain of all thoſe bitter waters, of which, through an hundred different conduits, we have drunk until we are ready to burſt. *The diſcretionary power of the crown in the formation of miniſtry, abuſed by bad or weak men, has,*" he maintains, "*given riſe to a ſyſtem, which, without directly violating the letter of any law, operates againſt the ſpirit of the whole conſtitution.* A plan of favoritiſm for our executory government," continues he, "is eſſentially at variance with the plan of our legiſlature. One great end undoubtedly of a mixed government like ours, compoſed of monarchy, and of controuls, on the part of the higher people, and the lower, is that the prince ſhall not be able to violate the laws. This is uſeful indeed and fundamental. But this, even at firſt view, is no more than a *negative advantage,---an armour merely defenſive.* It is therefore next in order,

order, and equal in importance, *that the diſcretionary powers which are neceſſarily veſted in the monarch, whether for the execution of the laws, or for the nomination to magiſtracy and office, or for conducting the affairs of peace and war, or for ordering the revenue, ſhould all be exerciſed upon public principles and national grounds, and not on the likings or prejudices, the intrigues or practices of a court.*" Eſtabliſhing himſelf firmly on theſe indiſputable truths, the writer ſcouts the deluſive idea, that the efforts of the oppoſition againſt the deſigns of the miniſtry ought to be regarded only as a ſtruggle for power, in which the people had little or no concern. "We muſt tell thoſe," he ſays, "who have the impudence to inſult us in this manner, that of all things we ought to be the moſt concerned, who and what ſort of men they are, that hold the truſt of every thing that is dear to us. Nothing can render this a point of indifference to the nation, but what muſt either render us totally deſperate, or ſoothe us into the ſecurity of ideots. We muſt ſoften into a credulity below the milkineſs of infancy, to think all men virtuous. We muſt be tainted with a malignity truly diabolical, to believe all the world to be equally wicked and corrupt. Men are in public life as in private, ſome good, ſome evil. The elevation of the one, and the depreſſion of the other, are the firſt objects of all true policy. * * * Every good political inſtitution ſhould have a preventive operation as well as a remedial: it ought to have a natural tendency to exclude bad men from government, and not to truſt for the ſafety of the ſtate to ſubſequent puniſhment alone---puniſhment, which has ever been tardy and uncertain, and which, when power is ſuffered in bad hands, may chance to fall rather on the injured than the criminal." Some practical illuſtration of this truth may perhaps be found in the late proſecutions for treaſon and ſedition.

In

In purſuing the hiſtory of the faction who preſumptuouſly choſe to call themſelves *the King's friends*, and in tracing the effects of their ſyſtem, as it operated upon the executive government, on the temper of the people, and on the perſonal happineſs of the ſovereign, Mr. BURKE is led to conſider its operation upon parliament alſo. In ſpeaking of this body, he confines himſelf chiefly to the *houſe of commons*, having before obſerved, "that *the generality of peers*, far from ſupporting themſelves in a ſtate of independent greatneſs, were but too apt to fall into an oblivion of their proper dignity, and to run headlong into an abject ſervitude." His remarks are therefore directed to the changes which had been gradually made in the nature and character of the popular part of our great national council. "The houſe of commons," ſays he, "was ſuppoſed originally to be *no part of the ſtanding government of this country*. It was conſidered as *a controul*, iſſuing *immediately* from *the people*, and ſpeedily to be reſolved into the maſs from whence it aroſe. In this reſpect it was in the higher parts of government what juries are in the lower. The capacity of a *magiſtrate* being *tranſitory*, and that of a *citizen permanent*, the latter capacity it was hoped would of courſe preponderate in all diſcuſſions, not only between the people and the ſtanding authority of the crown, but between the people and the fleeting authority of the houſe of commons itſelf. It was hoped that, being of a middle nature between ſubject and government, they would feel with a more tender and a nearer intereſt every thing that concerned the people, than the other remoter and more permanent parts of the legiſlature. Whatever alterations time and the neceſſary accommodation of buſineſs may have introduced, this character can never be ſuſtained, unleſs the houſe of commons ſhall be made to bear ſome ſtamp of the actual diſpoſition of the people.

people at large. It would (among public misfortunes) be an evil more natural and tolerable, that the houſe of commons ſhould be infected with every epidemical phrenzy of the people, as this would indicate ſome conſanguinity, ſome ſympathy of nature with their conſtituents, than that they ſhould in all caſes be wholly untouched by the opinions and feelings of the people out of doors. By this want of ſympathy they would ceaſe to be an houſe of commons. *** The virtue, ſpirit, and eſſence of a houſe of commons conſiſts in its being the expreſs image of the feelings of the nation. It was not intended to be a controul *upon* the people, as of late it has been taught, by a doctrine of the moſt pernicious tendency: it was deſigned as a controul *for* the people. *** A vigilant and jealous eye over judicial magiſtracy; an anxious care of public money; an openneſs, approaching towards facility, to public complaint; theſe ſeem to be the true characteriſtics of an houſe of commons. But an addreſſing houſe of commons and a petitioning nation; an houſe of commons full of confidence, when the nation is plunged in deſpair; in the utmoſt harmony with miniſters, whom the people regard with the utmoſt abhorrence; who vote thanks, when the public opinion calls upon them for impeachments; who are eager to grant, when the general voice demands account; who, in all diſputes between the people and adminiſtration, preſume againſt the people; who puniſh their diſorders, but refuſe even to inquire into the provocations; this is an unnatural, a monſtrous ſtate of things in this conſtitution. Such an aſſembly may be a great, wiſe, aweful ſenate; *but it is* NOT, *to any* POPULAR *purpoſe*, *an* HOUSE OF COMMONS."

To theſe obſervations the writer adds many others, no leſs juſt and ſpirited, on the death-blow aimed at the deareſt rights of

of Engliſhmen in the proceedings againſt WILKES, and on the exhauſtleſs mine of corruption which had been opened by a grant of half a million for payment of the debts of the civil liſt in 1769, without any other account than that of the mere exiſtence of ſuch debts. Every remaining page of the pamphlet is filled with arguments and remarks of the ſame tendency, to awaken the attention of the nation to the progreſs of deſpotiſm and the infidelity of their repreſentatives;---to urge good men to aſſociate, when they ſaw bad men combining;---to impreſs the people with a conviction that no ſubſtantial redreſs of their grievances, or reſtoration and ſecurity of their rights, could be obtained but by their own decided, unanimous, and perſevering efforts;---to ſhew, that, in caſes of juſt alarm, timidity, neutrality, or languor, is a crime; that public life is a ſituation of energy and power; and that he treſpaſſes againſt his duty who ſleeps upon his watch, as well as he that goes over to the enemy. *O ſi ſic omnia ſcripſiſſet!* Had he continued to write in this ſtrain; had he purſued with virtuous ſteadineſs that noble career of public duty, which he ſo well pointed out to others; his reputation would have increaſed with his years; his death would have been lamented as a public loſs; and the beauties of his beſt pamphlet would not now be quoted as the ſevereſt ſatires on his apoſtacy.

While Mr. BURKE's pen was thus employed in expoſing to public view the dark and deteſtable intrigues of the court-faction, he did not abſent himſelf from any debate of importance, but was heard almoſt every day in the houſe of commons pleading with lips of fire the cauſe either of the colonies or of the mother-country. His ſpeech on the ninth of May 1790, in ſupport of ſeveral reſolutions of cenſure on all the meaſures

lately purſued with reſpect to America, was diſtinguiſhed for its wit, poignancy, and unanſwerable reaſoning. He maintained that every ſtep taken by the miniſtry had terminated in exciting abhorrence or contempt. Their ſchemes of coercion, being crude and impracticable, made them hated: the ſhew of lenity, as it proved to be the lenity of a braggart forced to ſubmit, made them deſpiſed: the union of both, as in the repeal of the obnoxious duties of 1767, excepting that on tea, accompanied with a declaration from lord NORTH, *that a total repeal could not be thought of till America was proſtrate at our feet*, deſtroyed before hand all the favorable effects of partial conceſſion, and converted thoſe ſeeming advances to regain the affections of the coloniſts into an inſult on their feelings. "Thus," ſaid Mr. BURKE, "the malignity of your will is abhorred; the debility of your power is continued; and parliament, which you have perſuaded to ſanction your follies, is expoſed to diſhonour."

The invaded rights of election in the caſe of WILKES were to Mr. BURKE another inexhauſtible ſource of inveſtives againſt government. Proſecutions for libels alſo enabled him to keep open with freſh irritation the unhealed ſores of the miniſtry. ALMON had been lately tried upon an information filed *ex officio* by the attorney general, for ſelling a miſcellany which contained JUNIUS's celebrated letters to the king; and was found guilty, under the avowed influence of lord MANSFIELD's inſtructions to the jury, though they expreſſed their doubts of the malignity of the publiſher's intention. Neither the attorney general, however, nor the judge, ventured to follow up the verdict, thus unconſtitutionally obtained. Motions were in conſequence brought forward for an inquiry into the ſtate of the criminal laws; and for rendering more effectual the act of

WILLIAM

WILLIAM and MARY to prevent malicious informations in the court of King's Bench. In a debate to which theſe motions gave riſe on the twenty-ſeventh of November 1770, Mr. BURKE aſſerted, that the power of filing informations had been egregiouſly abuſed in the caſe of ALMON. His guilt, if any, was only nominal. The original publiſher ought firſt to have been brought to juſtice. "Here," continued the orator, "I believe, every man diſcovers malice. Mr. ALMON had been active in promoting certain meaſures not very agreeable to the miniſtry. He had publiſhed certain journals, which contained anecdotes that ſome people, high in office and power, could wiſh to have buried in eternal oblivion. It was reſolved to puniſh him for theſe acts of temerity. Hold was therefore laid of this ſlender twig. But what enſued? The court dare not make uſe of the ſtrange verdict procured againſt him. The only cauſe which the attorney general has been able to carry againſt libellers, he cannot turn to any account."

Here Mr. BURKE took occaſion to compare the effects of theſe malicious yet cowardly, theſe vindictive yet irreſolute proſecutions with ſome inſtances at former periods. "In the late reign," ſaid he, "no mortifying repulſes were received from juries, even when a dangerous rebellion raged in the very heart of the realm. Government was ſufficiently reſpected to maintain its authority. SHEBBEARE was, without any difficulty, puniſhed with impriſonment and pillory*; and many other delinquents. Even ſo lately as the beginning of his preſent majeſty's reign, before the minds

* When the earl of BUTE came into office, and had the diſtribution of the royal favors, he got SHEBBEARE a penſion of two hundred pounds a year, as a compenſation for his ſufferings in the good old cauſe of toryiſm; and the king himſelf afterwards added one hundred pounds a year to that penſion for another proof of SHEBBEARE's zeal.

of men were ſoured by the interpoſition of undue influence, the laws had not loſt their force. The forty-fifth number of the North Briton, that poor milk and water paper, is an undeniable proof. What then has wrought ſo ſudden a change in the temper and diſpoſition of the people, that they now countenance the moſt audacious and wicked libels? Are the courts of juſtice depraved and impure; and do they, out of ſpite and malice, contradict and oppoſe them? Where ſhall we look for the origin of this relaxation of the laws, and of all government? How comes this JUNIUS to have broke through the cobwebs of the law, and to range uncontrouled, unpuniſhed, through the land? The myrmidons of the court have been long, and are ſtill, purſuing him in vain. They will not ſpend their time upon me, or you, or you. No; they diſdain ſuch vermin, when the mighty boar of the foreſt, that has broke through all their toils, is before them. But what will all their efforts avail? No ſooner has he wounded one, than he lays down another dead at his feet. For my part, when I ſaw his attack upon the King, I own my blood ran cold. I thought he had ventured too far, and that there was an end of his triumphs. Not that he had not aſſerted many bold truths. Yes, there are in that compoſition *many bold truths, by which a wiſe prince might profit.* It was the rancour and venom with which I was ſtruck. In theſe reſpects the North Briton is as much inferior to him, as in ſtrength, wit, and judgment. But while I expected from this daring flight his final ruin and fall, behold him ſtill ſoaring higher, and coming down ſouſe upon both houſes of parliament. Yes, he did make you his quarry, and you ſtill bleed from the wounds of his talons. You crouched, and ſtill crouch, beneath his rage. Nor has he dreaded *the terrors of your brow,* Sir," [the expreſſion could not have been more happily

pily uſed than in addreſſing ſir FLETCHER NORTON, then ſpeaker] " ---he has attacked even you---he has---and I believe you have no reaſon to triumph in the encounter. In ſhort, after carrying away our royal eagle in his pounces, and daſhing him againſt a rock, he has laid you proſtrate. King, lords, and commons, are but the ſport of his fury. Were he a member of this houſe, what might not be expected from his knowledge, his firmneſs, and integrity! He would be eaſily known by his contempt of all danger, by his penetration, by his vigour. Nothing could eſcape his vigilance and activity. Bad miniſters could conceal nothing from his ſagacity, nor could promiſes, or threats, induce him to conceal any thing from the public."

Mr. BURKE returns from theſe digreſſive remarks on JUNIUS to his leading point, the relaxation of the laws and of government. " What is the cauſe," he aſks, " of this general averſion to law, this univerſal conſpiracy againſt government? It does not ariſe from the natural depravity of the people, nor from the accidental miſbehaviour of our courts of law. The whole is chargeable upon adminiſtration. *The miniſters are the grand criminals.* It is their malverſation and unconſtitutional encroachments, that have rouſed up in the nation this ſpirit of oppoſition, which tramples under foot all law, order, and decorum. Till they are removed and puniſhed, the kingdom will be a ſcene of anarchy and confuſion."

On the fourteenth of December in the ſame ſeſſion, Mr. BURKE gave the warmeſt encouragement and moſt ſtrenous ſupport to governor POWNALL's intimation of his deſign to ſubmit to the committee on the mutiny bill a clauſe for reſtraining the diſcretionary power of magiſtrates to call out the military. Such a power was then looked upon by Mr. BURKE as tending to annihilate the civil authority; to deſtroy the liberty and perſonal ſecurity.

ſecurity of the ſubject; and to expoſe the officers and ſoldiers of his majeſty's forces to the moſt dangerous ſnares. Mr. BURKE lived to ſee ſome extraordinary regulations of that power; but in order to be ſatisfied of their ſalutary effects, we muſt wait the reſult of a judicial inquiry into the late proceedings at Pancras. We ſhall then know whether the office now held by his royal highneſs the duke of York is merely nominal; or whether Mr. ADDINGTON, Mr. CONANT, or any Bow-ſtreet runner, is not in reality commander in chief of the military forces of Great Britain.

After the Chriſtmas receſs, on the twenty-fifth of January 1771, when the Spaniſh ambaſſador's declaration concerning Falkland's Iſland, and lord ROCHFORD's acceptance of it, were diſcuſſed, Mr. BURKE commented upon thoſe papers with much irony and ridicule. "I own," ſaid he, "that the ſatisfaction from the Spaniards is very adequate to the injury, in reſpect to the crown, as they took a barren, deſolate rock, and have reſtored as barren, deſolate a rock. But what ſatisfaction have the people received for all the treaſure which has been expended? The miniſter promiſed we ſhould have ſome recompence for our expences; but he has provided none—no recompence but this declaration, which is the joint produce of three kings; two plenipotentiaries; five ſecretaries of ſtate; one firſt lord of the treaſury; two firſt lords of the admiralty; two lords privy ſeal; (the old privy ſeal, I ſuppoſe, was worn out, and it was therefore neceſſary to have the convention ſtamped by the virgin intaglia of a new ſtateſman;) five hundred meſſengers; forty thouſand ſeamen; thirteen thouſand landmen; forty ſail of the line; and three millions of money! I ſay this declaration, this wiſdom, this ſpirit of the miniſtry, this vindication of the honour of the crown, this

this ſecurity of the rights of the ſubject, which all lies in a nut-ſhell, has coſt the nation above three millions of money! The land-tax was prematurely voted; or rather, the country gentlemen have been duped out of five hundred thouſand pounds. The trade of this country has been greatly diſtreſſed and injured; and all this for what? Why to procure that ſcandalous, baſe, and diſhonourable declaration, which lies upon the table. I admit, however, that it is made on the true principles of trade and manufacture. It puts me in mind of a Birmingham button, which has paſſed through an hundred hands, and, after all, is not worth three halfpence a dozen."

For the ſatisfaction of ſuch readers as may have forgotten, or may be unacquainted with the affair of Falkland's Iſland, and who, on that account, may not feel the full force of Mr. BURKE's ironical and ſarcaſtic remarks, it may be proper to ſtate, that, in the month of June 1770, a Spaniſh commodore, having five frigates and ſome ſmaller veſſels under his command, with all the apparatus neceſſary for a regular ſiege, appeared off Port Egmont, an Engliſh ſettlement on one of Falkland's iſlands; and, under the frivolous old pretence of the king of Spain's excluſive right to all the Magellanic regions, obliged captain FARMER and the garriſon to evacuate the place; but to prevent any very early intelligence of the outrage from being conveyed to England, the Spaniſh commodore cauſed the rudder of the only Engliſh ſloop then upon the ſtation to be taken off and kept on ſhore for twenty days, when ſhe was permitted to depart. On the arrival of this intelligence, the whole kingdom was inflamed at ſo daring an inſult on the Britiſh flag, and ſuch a flagrant act of open hoſtility. Parliament readily voted ſupplies, advanced the land-tax, and applauded every meaſure that ſeemed calculated to obtain proper

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atonement for the injury. But after a mighty ſhew and buſtle of expenſive preparations, the Britiſh miniſtry were content with a ſort of equivocal declaration on the part of the king of Spain, faintly diſavowing the enterprize, though the conductor of it was loaded with honours; engaging to reſtore Port Egmont; but at the ſame time expreſsly ſtating, that this reſtoration could not, and ought not, in any wiſe to affect the queſtion of the Spaniſh king's prior right of ſovereignty. It is impoſſible rationally to account for the daſtardlineſs of our cabinet on that occaſion, without adopting, in a certain degree at leaſt, the ſentiments of JUNIUS. "Violence and oppreſſion at home," ſays that animated writer, "can only be ſupported by treachery and ſubmiſſion abroad. When the civil rights of the people are daringly invaded on one ſide, what have we to expect, but that their political rights ſhould be deſerted and betrayed in the ſame proportion on the other? The plan of domeſtic policy which has been invariably purſued from the moment of his preſent majeſty's acceſſion, engroſſes all the attention of his ſervants. They know that the ſecurity of their places depends upon their maintaining, at any hazard, the ſecret ſyſtem of the cloſet. A foreign war might embarraſs, an unfavorable event might ruin the miniſter, and defeat the deep-laid ſcheme of policy, to which he and his aſſociates owe their employments. Rather than ſuffer the execution of that ſcheme to be delayed or interrupted, the king has been adviſed to make a public ſurrender, a ſolemn ſacrifice, in the face of all Europe, not only of the intereſts of his ſubjects, but of his own perſonal reputation, and of the dignity of that crown which his predeceſſors have worn with honour." By comparing this with the extracts we have given from Mr. BURKE's expoſition of the intrigues of the *cabal*, the reader will be enabled to judge what

what ſtreſs ought to be laid on the coincidence of opinion between two of the beſt-informed and moſt celebrated writers of the age.

As a key to Mr. BURKE's ſtricture on the number of hands, through which the declaration paſſed, the reader need only be informed that the intereſt, the ambition, the politics of the court of Madrid being at that time completely *melted down* in the cabinet of Verſailles, three kings were very juſtly ſaid to be concerned in the late treaty. Some changes which took place in the Britiſh miniſtry, while it was pending, ſuggeſted to Mr. BURKE another hint for humorous amplification. Lord WEYMOUTH having reſigned the office of ſecretary of ſtate for the ſouthern department, the correſpondence with Spain was carried on by his ſucceſſor, the earl of ROCHFORD, whoſe place in the northern department was filled by lord SANDWICH. But the latter being ſoon after removed to the head of the admiralty, in the room of ſir EDWARD HAWKE, the ſecretaryſhip for the north was conferred on lord HALIFAX, who gave up the privy ſeal to the earl of SUFFOLK. Hence aroſe the ſhare which five ſecretaries of ſtate, two lords of the admiralty, and two lords privy ſeal, had in that execrated paper, the terms of which were ſo diſgraceful, that Mr. BURKE ſaid nothing but *blood*, nothing but *the lives of ſome concerned in the dark affair*, could make *atonement to this injured nation*.

As travellers, in their progreſs through a country the ſurface of which is remarkably diverſified, often ſtop on the principal heights, to take a view of the ſurrounding landſcapes; in the ſame manner is our attention frequently arreſted by thoſe protuberances of parliamentary eminence, round which the genius of BURKE diffuſes the moſt attractive ſplendor. On the eighteenth of February 1773, ſir HARRY HOUGHTON moved for leave to bring in a

bill for the relief of proteſtant diſſenters in ſundry matters relating to ſubſcription. It was vehemently oppoſed by ſir WILLIAM BAGOT on two grounds, firſt, becauſe the penal laws againſt ſuch of the diſſenters as did not ſubſcribe were never put in force; and, ſecondly, becauſe he believed that the attempt to ſet aſide the thirty-nine articles was agitated with a deſign unfavorable to Chriſtianity. Mr. BURKE in reply ſpoke nearly to the following effect:

"I propoſe, ſir, taking notice of what fell from the honourable gentleman's lips, conſidered in a two-fold view. He advanced the following poſitions, that the diſſenters now enjoyed liberty by connivance; and that toleration was an attack upon Chriſtianity.--- The diſſenters enjoy liberty by connivance! My good ſir, what ſort of liberty is this? *What, ſir, is* LIBERTY BY CONNIVANCE, *but a* TEMPORARY RELAXATION OF SLAVERY? Is this a ſort of liberty calculated for the meridian of England? MONTESQUIEU places liberty in an exemption from fear. Are perſons who enjoy it by connivance only---are they exempt from fear, and diveſted of apprehenſion? To talk then, ſir, of *a connivance*, to talk only of *a temporary ſuſpenſion of tyranny*. You are deſirous to keep the rod hanging over the diſſenters' heads at the very inſtant that you aſſure them they ſhall never ſmart under its ſtripes. Why then at once not ſet their hearts at reſt, by removing the impending danger? Why not releaſe them from the dread of theſe penal ſtatutes, the cruelty of which ſo ſhocks your generous natures, that you think it incumbent on you to declare they never ſhould be put into execution? The queſtion, ſir, anſwers itſelf; and to *cavil at its propriety* is to *carp at truth*, and *elude conviction*. * * * *

"As to what the honourable gentleman let fall concerning toleration being an attack upon Chriſtianity, it is an aſſertion ſo contrary to

to truth and hiſtory, that it ſcarcely ſtands in need of refutation. By toleration Chriſtianity flouriſhed. Whilſt the eaſtern and weſtern churches were tolerant, they were illuſtrious;---they were venerated;---they were held in ſacred eſtimation. When the Romiſh church caſt aſide its toleration; and had recourſe to threatenings, ſlaughter and perſecutions; commotions enſued:---eccleſiaſtical anarchy prevailed:---and the kingdom of darkneſs was erected on the ruins of Chriſtianity. Inſtead of combating the common foe, Chriſtians combated each other. Inſtead of taking arms againſt the grand deceivers, they ſtrove by every deceptious art to haraſs and torment thoſe whom they ought to have cheriſhed and loved as brethren. In ſhort, the want of toleration has leſſened the number of believers; and for that reaſon I would have all proteſtants united, that we may be the better enabled to make a common cauſe againſt infidels of every denomination.

"The church of England, ſir, has not a firmer friend than myſelf. I wiſh her illuſtrious---I wiſh her head may reach that heaven to which ſhe would conduct us---But I would alſo wiſh her family as numerous as poſſible---I would wiſh a brotherly affection to prevail among her offspring---I would have Chriſtians united---I would have them join in every attempt to cruſh the powers of darkneſs, and trample under foot the foe to God and Man. Like a mother tender of her children, I would have the church with wide-extended arms receive in her boſom every believing ſon; not, with unnatural auſterity, reproach her offspring, and drive them to ſeek for eaſe, for pleaſure, and for comfort, in the harlot lap of infidelity."

Such were Mr. BURKE's ſentiments and wiſhes in the year 1773; but, in the year 1790, we ſhall find them to have undergone a very conſiderable change,---a change far more extraordinary, be-

cauſe more unnatural, than the French revolution could appear, even to his own affrighted fancy. As to the iſſue of ſir HARRY HOUGHTON's motion, it is enough to obſerve, that it was favorably received by the houſe of commons; leave was given to bring in his bill; and it was carried through without a diviſion. But, on the ſecond reading in the houſe of lords, it was thrown out by a majority of more than three to one, who ſeemed to conſider the thirty-nine articles as the grand palladium on which the civil as well as eccleſiaſtical government of the kingdom depended.

During the ſeſſions of 1772 and 1773, the Eaſt India affairs engaged no ſmall ſhare of the time and attention of parliament; and as they were ſoon found to be of the utmoſt intricacy as well as magnitude, it was deemed adviſable, at the motion of colonel BURGOYNE, on the thirteenth of April 1772, to appoint a ſelect committee of thirty-one members, choſen by ballot, to inquire into, and make a faithful report of, the late alarming miſmanagement and actual ſtate of the company's concerns---to preſent to the houſe a comprehenſive view of the exiſtence and extent of the evils, and thereby to enable them in their deliberate wiſdom to apply an effectual remedy. This committee did not break up at the ſummer receſs; and they were revived, or rather continued, at the opening of the next ſeſſion. But, under a pretence that their operations were too ſlow for the critically diſtreſſed ſtate of the company's affairs, and that their mode of inquiry tended alſo to an improper diſcloſure of the company's ſecrets, lord NORTH got another committee appointed, conſiſting of eleven members, under the name of a committee of ſecrecy, which would confine to a few the knowledge of the company's confidential tranſactions. This committee did not ſit ten days before they made their firſt report;

report; and the rapidity of their proceedings, contraſted with the tardineſs of the ſelect committee, afforded Mr. BURKE an excellent ſubject of ridicule. When the report was firſt made, recommending that a bill might be brought into parliament to reſtrain, for a limited time, the Eaſt India company from ſending out ſupervifors; "Let us examine," ſaid Mr. BURKE, "this extraordinary matter. Here is a committee appointed laſt ſeſſion,---a fair and open committee,---which has produced nothing. This was the lawful wife publicly avowed; but finding her barren, the miniſtry have taken a neat little ſnug one, which they call a ſecret committee; and this is her firſt-born. Indeed, from the ſingular expedition of this extraordinary delivery, I am apt to think ſhe was pregnant before wedlock. Yet, after all, what is this report, but a bill to ſuſpend a law of the land? If we ſuffer it to paſs, *we* ſhall, in fact, become the Eaſt India company; and you, ſir, will be ſeated in that chair, with a *little hammer*, by an *inch of candle*. The treaſury-bench will be the buyers, and, on this ſide, we ſhall be the ſellers. The ſenate will become an auction-room, and the ſpeaker an auctioneer!"

In another debate on this ſubject, Mr. BURKE exhibited the proceedings of the two committees in a new and very ludicrous light. "One," he obſerved, "has been ſo ſlow in its motions, that the company have given up long ſince all hopes of redreſs from it; and the other has gone on altogether ſo rapid, that they do not know where it will ſtop. Like the fly of a jack, the latter has gone *hey-go-mad!* the other, like the ponderous lead at the other end; and, in that manner, they have roaſted the India company." It was not badly replied by ſir WILLIAM MEREDITH, "that he agreed in the ſimile, but drew a different concluſion,---that between the heavy weight at one end, and the quick

quick motion of the flier, the diſh was prepared, and rendered fit for digeſtion."

The ſelect committee, however, did not continue much longer expoſed to the reproach of either inutility or ſilence. Their reports unfolded to public view ſcenes of rapacity and cruelty in the company's ſervants which ſtaggered belief. The detail would be endleſs, as well as foreign to our immediate purpoſe; but a general idea of their nature may be formed from the words of the chairman, who declared, "that through the whole inveſtigation he could not find a ſingle ſound ſpot whereon to lay his finger, it being all equally one maſs of the moſt unheard of villanies, and the moſt notorious corruption." Heavy charges were brought againſt ſeveral of the company's ſervants, and particularly againſt lord CLIVE, who, it was affirmed, had acquired a princely fortune by rapine, extortion, treachery, and murder. But when a vote of cenſure on his conduct was moved in the houſe of commons, it was negatived by a large majority, in oppoſition to the miniſter; and an end was put to the inquiry. In the moments of unguarded exultation, his lordſhip ſometimes ſaid, that a man whoſe conduct was to be ſcrutinized in a Britiſh houſe of commons, if he had only one hundred thouſand pounds at his command, would deſerve to be hanged a hundred thouſand times over, if he did not know how to employ that money to ſecure his acquittal. But though his lordſhip eſcaped the cenſure of parliament, he carried about with him in his own breaſt a tribunal which he could not bribe. The wretchedneſs, deſpondency, and horror, in which he ſpent a few years, are ſcarcely conceivable. He was often perceived, in the midſt of joyous company, to ſtart with wild affright, as if he ſaw the ghoſts of murdered Indians ſhaking round his head the torches of vengeance and of hell. His laſt

laſt reſource was ſuicide, by this melancholy cataſtrophe demonſtrating to mankind *the vanity of human purſuits and wiſhes, and the infinite ſuperiority of conſcious virtue to all the gifts of fame and fortune.**

Though the miniſter found himſelf left in a minority, when he ſupported a motion which led to the impeachment of individuals, he found the houſe, upon every other occaſion, ready to approve of his plans for the pretended regulation of the India company's affairs, in ſpite of all the powers of Mr. BURKE's ridicule, arguments, and oratory. Theſe, indeed, were often exerted with the moſt ſtinging, though not with perſuaſive, effect. When the houſe was in a committee on a bill for leaving the company in poſſeſſion of their territorial acquiſitions for a limited time, Mr. BURKE thus addreſſed Mr. BACON, who was then in the chair:

"Mr. BACON, you are every thing, but what you ſhould be:—you are chairman of a committee in the air—we are a committee of imagination, of idea, of every thing but reality; and we might as well be employed in building caſtles in the air. But, ſir, I cannot help moſt ſeriouſly remarking, how amazingly the opinions of men change! What has now taken place is a ſpecial inſtance of it. When a propoſition comes originally from this ſide of the houſe, it is heard with diſguſt, and treated with contempt: ſuch reaſons, however, accompany it, as convince even the antagoniſts of the idea: it paſſes through the political elaboratory: the ſun ſhines from the treaſury-bench on it: it is given to the houſe, and heard with applauſe. This, ſir, I have ſeen more than once; and any member who will take the trouble of recollecting what I have advanced more than once within theſe

* BELSHAM's Memoirs, Vol. I. page 355.

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ten days, muſt alſo plainly perceive it now adopted in a manner which ſhews the conviction of that bench, but clogged—damned with attendants which ſeem coined to deſtroy all the good that could reſult from the other. Why will not the noble lord at once declare, or give up the right of the crown to the territorial acquiſitions? Why is that fantaſtic right to hang eternally over their heads, in order to deſtroy that very ſolidity which he affects to give the company?

" Sir, I was anſwered in a former committee, that I did not adhere to the queſtion: but, ſir, it was a reply of ignorance alone. If the propoſers of a motion will paſs the plain road that leads to common ſenſe, in order to wander into a rotten bog, the man who calls them back again, and tells them they will ſoon be up to the chin in that ground, is he the man who runs from the queſtion? The noble lord, in order to come immediately to his motion, paſſes over the previous queſtion of right; the conſequence of which is, all his deductions are actions of abſurdity---all his propoſitions ſtrings of contradictions. Let him declare that right, on the ſtrength of which he ſeizes with the hand of power; and the houſe will ſupport him: if he gives it up, it will ſupport him. Let him offer a purge, you will ſwallow it;---a vomit, it will go down;---an alterative or aſtringent---an acid or an alkali---all one---down it goes. While the noble lord finds we have ſuch a ſwallow, let him give the pill at once without gilding;---let him fairly declare the decree of this accurſed right, which hangs thus *in terrorem* on your trade to the eaſt."

Mr. BURKE concluded with diſclaiming all intereſted or ambitious motives. He condemned ſuch crooked policy, from the bottom of his heart, and not with a view to places or to penſions. The ſevereſt ſtudy had convinced him, that the whole ſyſtem of miniſtry,

miniſtry, on the ſubject of India affairs, run counter to every principle of trade, and to every principle of freedom. This country, he aſſerted, would have reaſon to curſe the Indies; for ſhe might date the fall of her liberty from the firſt interference of government in that commerce. For his part, he had rather ten Indies were loſt, than ſee one pillar of this noble conſtitution---one principle of its policy deſtroyed.

But Mr. BURKE ſeemed to reſerve the grand opening of all his batteries for the third reading of lord NORTH's Eaſt India regulating bill, the chief proviſions of which were, "that the court of directors ſhould in future be choſen for the term of four years, inſtead of being elected annually, ſix members vacating their ſeats each year; ---that the qualification for voting ſhould be raiſed from five hundred to one thouſand pounds capital ſtock, and the time of previous poſſeſſion be extended from ſix months to twelve;---that the juriſdiction of the mayor's court at Calcutta be confined to mercantile cauſes, and a new ſupreme court of judicature be eſtabliſhed in India, conſiſting of a chief juſtice and three puiſne judges appointed by the king;---and laſtly, that a ſuperiority over the other preſidencies be given to the preſidency of Bengal, the blanks for the names of the members, including the governor and council, being filled up at the time by parliament, and the removal of thoſe officers, as well as a negative on the future nomination of the company, being veſted in the crown." The names propoſed by the miniſter for filling up the blanks, and approved of by the majority of the houſe, were thoſe of WARREN HASTINGS, Eſq. to be governor general; and lieutenant general JOHN CLAVERING, hon. GEORGE MONSON, RICHARD BARWELL, Eſq. and PHILIP FRANCIS, Eſq. to be the four councillors. The only objection then made to theſe appointments was that general

MONCKTON's friends thought he had ſtronger claims to be nominated one of the council than general CLAVERING. Mr. BURKE did not forget this circumſtance in his attack upon the whole bill, no one regulation of which, he ſaid, could be ſupported by fair and ſolid arguments. He began with an apology for having been ſilent in the former ſtages of this momentous and important buſineſs: the reaſon was, he had looked upon all true argument either to be loſt to the houſe, or he was incapable of underſtanding any which had been urged in favor of the bill: he looked upon all harangue and eloquence, when it could do no good, to be puerile and childiſh: but he muſt now diſcloſe his opinion, leſt a longer ſilence ſhould be conſtrued a dereliction of the cauſe.

After this introduction, Mr. BURKE took a bird's-eye view of the whole proceeding. He condemned the appointment of the ſelect and ſecret committees, which he ironically called the two great luminaries that were to guide the houſe, and conduct them through the ſtorm into which they had driven themſelves. He ſaid that the two reſolutions which they had come to the firſt night, hung over the houſe like the ragged remains of a ſcaffold of folly after the building had tumbled down. "I muſt impute all ſuch proceedings," continued he, "rather to impolicy than to injuſtice. Neither of the committees have been of any uſe, eſpecially the ſecret committee; for you ought to have proceeded in ſome ſhape or other, upon ſome ground, whether bad or good, which their labours had laid before you, and which would have at leaſt ſhewn a decent regard to them. All that you have hitherto done, has been done on the ſtrength of common fame. This, indeed, may very properly ſet an inquiry on foot; but can never afford a ſufficient ground for accuſation:---it may be made a very good breakfaſt; but at the end of the day it will prove to be a very bad

bad ſupper. The very author of theſe proceedings tells us, he will not be anſwerable for the wiſdom or policy, but for the neceſſity of them. I beg leave to inform the houſe, that if any perſon is to be anſwerable, the noble lord himſelf muſt ſtand to the charge. For my part, I cannot ſee, after the ſtricteſt attention to the whole bill, that the grim tyrant neceſſity has any ſhare or concern in the disfranchiſement of the proprietors of India ſtock. What delinquency can be charged upon the five hundred pounds proprietor? Can he be guilty of ſplitting of votes? By this bill the houſe puniſhes the man who cannot ſplit ſtock, and rewards the man who can. The bill cheriſhes the guilty, and condemns the innocent. I believe that miſchiefs have happened by the ſplitting of votes, as ſtated in the preamble to the bill; but in this inſtance the houſe lays hold of the *bonâ fide* proprietor by the throat, and ſtrangles him becauſe he is *not* guilty. In my opinion, the only proper check on the abuſes that prevail, either at home or abroad, in the management of India affairs, would be found in the *democratic* abilities of thoſe proprietors who by this bill are going to be excluded."

On the ſubject of general MONCKTON's pretenſions, and the injuſtice of leaving him out in the nomination, Mr. BURKE obſerved, that a man, who had rendered ſuch eminent ſervices to this country, and who had twice received the thanks of the houſe, was now, by a vote of it, excluded from a reward which he ought to have had,---from a preference which ought to have been given him, to have aſſiſted in the conduct and direction of the affairs of India in the council abroad. By this vote they had rendered the memory of his ſervices null and void;---" but," exclaimed the orator, " the monument of general WOLFE will open its marble jaws, and give you here the lie."

Mr. BURKE did not ſee any increaſe of energy or of uſeful controul in the other regulations of the bill. The houſe had created very few new powers, or new inſtructors or inſtructions, notwithſtanding an implied cenſure, in the preamble, on thoſe who had hitherto acted. Mr. HASTINGS, however, Mr. MONSON, and Mr. BARWELL, were ſtill continued; and he was glad to find "that theſe men, though blackened in the preamble without cauſe, were white-waſhed and made fair again in the body of the bill." A few years had a fatal effect in diſcolouring that white-waſh, and in exhibiting Mr. HASTINGS, to the eye at leaſt of Mr. BURKE, as *the captain general of iniquity*.

The diſorders which continued to prevail in America, and the various expedients made uſe of by the Britiſh miniſtry, ſometimes to allay, and ſometimes to puniſh them, were frequent ſubjects of parliamentary diſcuſſion. On the nineteenth of April 1774, Mr. ROSE FULLER, member for Rye, made a motion relative to the repeal of the tea-duty, ſo offenſive to the colonies, and ſo unproductive to the mother country. Mr. CORNWALL, then one of the lords of the treaſury, and afterwards ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, oppoſed the motion as impolitic and imprudent,---as tending to diſcover a puſillanimous timidity, without the leaſt chance of regaining the affections of the Americans. He aſſerted that the repeal of the ſtamp act had not produced any good effect; that diſturbances had been fomenting and growing ever ſince; that the preſent conceſſion would only induce the coloniſts to apply for the repeal of other duties; nor would they ſtop until we ſurrendered the whole, and by that means America itſelf. Theſe reflections called up Mr. BURKE, who made a long and brilliant ſpeech. It was the firſt of his ſpeeches that he himſelf publiſhed; but, notwithſtanding his partiality to it, it certainly

was

was not the beſt. It abounds, indeed, with effuſions of genius, ſallies of wit, flights of fancy, maſterly delineations of public characters, and numberleſs other beauties: but we may ſay of them what has been ſaid of PLINY's letters, and of COWLEY's poems, *that they would have pleaſed us more, had they pleaſed us leſs:* we ſoon grow tired of ſuch an oſtentatious diſplay of gaudineſs and ſplendor: the importance of the ſubject is loſt in the dazzling blaze that ſurrounds it; and the ſpeaker ſeems to forget the remark made by the great maſter of eloquence, *that tropes and figures are the eyes of ſpeech, but that thoſe eyes ought not to be ſcattered over the whole body.*

The very opening of this famous harangue betrays too much art and labour: "I agree with the honourable gentleman who ſpoke laſt, that this ſubject is not new in this houſe. Very diſagreeably to this houſe, very unfortunately to this nation, and to the peace and proſperity of this whole empire, no topic has been more familiar to us. For nine long years, ſeſſion after ſeſſion, we have been laſhed round and round this miſerable circle of occaſional argument and temporary expedients. I am ſure our heads muſt turn, and our ſtomachs nauſeate with them. We have had them in every ſhape:---we have looked at them in every point of view. Invention is exhauſted; reaſon is fatigued; experience has given judgment; but obſtinacy is not yet conquered." We ſhall not repeat any of SHEBBEARE's ſarcaſtic and ill-natured criticiſms on this exordium, and on various other parts of the ſpeech. We feel a much greater pleaſure in laying before the reader a few of its beauties. Among theſe Mr. BURKE's review of the colonial ſyſtem has been particularly admired. He goes back to the navigation-act, which he calls *the corner-ſtone* of the policy of this country with regard to its colonies. "That

policy,"

policy," ſays he, " was, from the beginning, purely commercial; and the commercial ſyſtem was wholly reſtrictive. It was the ſyſtem of a monopoly. No trade was let looſe from that conſtraint, but merely to enable the coloniſts to diſpoſe of what, in the courſe of your trade, you could not take; or to enable them to diſpoſe of ſuch articles as we forced upon them, and for which, without ſome degree of liberty, they could not pay. Hence all your ſpecific and detailed enumerations: hence the innumerable checks and counter-checks: hence that infinite variety of *paper-chains*, by which you bind together this complicated ſyſtem of the colonies. This principle of commercial monopoly runs through no leſs than twenty-nine acts of parliament, from the year 1660 to the unfortunate period of 1764. In all thoſe acts the ſyſtem of commerce is eſtabliſhed, as that, from whence alone you propoſed to make the colonies contribute to the ſtrength of the empire. I venture to ſay, that during that whole period, a parliamentary revenue from thence was never once in contemplation."

Here Mr. BURKE enters into ſome details, in order to prove that no act avowedly for the purpoſe of revenue, and with the ordinary title and recital taken together, could be found in the ſtatute book until the year 1764. All before this period ſtood on commercial regulation and reſtraint. Whatever the right might have been, the mode of uſing it, then adopted, was abſolutely new in policy and practice. Aware of an objection which would naturally be ſtarted on the principle he laid down, he thus addreſſes the chair:

" Sir, they who are friends to the ſchemes of American revenue ſay, that the commercial reſtraint is full as hard a law for America to live under. I think ſo too. I think it, if uncompenſated, to be a condition of as rigorous ſervitude as men can be ſubject to. But

But America bore it from the fundamental act of navigation until 1764.---Why?---Becauſe men do bear the inevitable conſtitution of their original nature with all its infirmities. The act of navigation attended the colonies from their infancy, grew with their growth, and ſtrengthened with their ſtrength. They were confirmed in obedience to it, even more by uſage than by law. They ſcarcely had remembered a time when they were not ſubject to ſuch reſtraint. Beſides, they were indemnified for it by a pecuniary compenſation. Their monopoliſt happened to be one of the richeſt men in the world. By his immenſe capital they were enabled to proceed with their fiſheries, their agriculture, their ſhip-building, and their trade too within the limits, in ſuch a manner as got far the ſtart of the ſlow, languid operations of unaſſiſted nature. This capital was a hot-bed to them. Nothing in the hiſtory of mankind is like their progreſs. For my part, I never caſt an eye on their flouriſhing commerce, and their cultivated and commodious life, but they ſeem to me rather antient nations grown to perfection through a long ſeries of fortunate events, and a train of ſucceſsful induſtry, accumulating wealth in many centuries, than the colonies of yeſterday,---than a ſet of miſerable outcaſts, a few years ago, not ſo much ſent, as thrown out on the bleak and barren ſhore of a deſolate wilderneſs three thouſand miles from all civilized intercourſe. All this was done by England, whilſt England purſued trade, and forgot revenue. You not only acquired commerce, but you actually created the very objects of trade in America; and by that creation you raiſed the trade of this kingdom at leaſt four-fold. America had the compenſation of your capital, which made her bear her ſervitude. She had another compenſation, which you are now going to take away from her. She had, except the commercial reſtraint, every

characteriſtic mark of a free people in all her internal concerns. She had the image of the Britiſh conſtitution. She had the ſubſtance. She was taxed by her own repreſentatives. She choſe moſt of her own magiſtrates. She paid them all. She had in effect the ſole diſpoſal of her own internal government. This whole ſtate of commercial ſervitude and civil liberty, taken together, is certainly not perfect freedom; but comparing it with the ordinary circumſtances of human nature, it was an happy and a liberal condition. * * * * Whether you were right or wrong in eſtabliſhing the colonies on the principles of commercial monopoly, rather than on that of revenue, is at this day a problem of mere ſpeculation. You cannot have both by the ſame authority. To join together the reſtraints of an univerſal internal and external monopoly, is an unnatural union; perfect, uncompenſated ſlavery. You have long ſince decided for yourſelf and them; and you and they have proſpered exceedingly under that deciſion."

The firſt fatal departure from that choice at the cloſe of the war is clearly pointed out, and accurately traced by the orator. "Then," ſays he, "a ſcheme of government, new in many things, ſeemed to have been adopted. I ſaw, or thought I ſaw, ſeveral ſymptoms of a great change, whilſt I ſat in your gallery, a good while before I had the honour of a ſeat in this houſe. At that period the neceſſity was eſtabliſhed of keeping up no leſs than twenty new regiments, with twenty colonels capable of ſeats in this houſe. This ſcheme was adopted with very general applauſe from all ſides, at the very time that, by your conqueſts in America, your danger from foreign attempts in that part of the world was much leſſened, or indeed rather quite over. When this huge increaſe of military eſtabliſhment was reſolved on, a revenue was to be found to ſupport ſo great a burthen."

After

After a remark on the artifice with which CHARLES TOWNSHEND, then paymaſter of the forces, cajoled the country gentlemen, by playing before their eyes the image of a revenue to be raiſed in America, he adds, "Here began to dawn the firſt glimmerings of this new colony ſyſtem. It appeared more diſtinctly afterwards, when it was devolved upon a perſon, [GEORGE GRENVILLE] to whom, on other accounts, this country owes very great obligations. I do believe, that he had a very ſerious deſire to benefit the public. But with no ſmall ſtudy of the detail, he did not ſeem to have his view, at leaſt equally, carried to the total circuit of our affairs. He generally conſidered his objects in lights that were rather too detached. * * * * No man can believe, that at this time of day I mean to lean on the venerable memory of a great man, whoſe loſs we deplore in common*. Our little party differences have been long ago compoſed; and I have acted more with him, and certainly with more pleaſure with him, than ever I acted againſt him. Undoubtedly Mr. GRENVILLE was a firſt-rate figure in this country. With a maſculine underſtanding, and a ſtout and reſolute heart, he had an application undiſciplined and unwearied. He took public buſineſs, not as a duty which he was to fulfil, but as a pleaſure he was to enjoy; and he ſeemed to have no delight out of this houſe, except in ſuch things as ſome way related to the buſineſs that was to be done within it. If he was ambitious, I will ſay this for him, his ambition was of a noble and generous ſtrain. It was to raiſe himſelf, not by the low pimping politics of a court, but to win his way to power, through the laborious gradations of public ſervice; and to ſecure to himſelf a well-earned rank in parliament, by a

* Mr. GRENVILLE died Nov. 13, 1770.

thorough knowledge of its conſtitution, and a perfect practice in all its buſineſs. If ſuch a man fell into errors, it muſt be from defects not intrinſical: they muſt be rather ſought in the particular habits of his life; which, though they do not alter the groundwork of character, yet tinge it with their own hue. He was bred in a profeſſion. He was bred to the law, which is, in my opinion, one of the firſt and nobleſt of human ſciences; a ſcience which does more to quicken and invigorate the underſtanding, than all the other kinds of learning put together; but it is not apt, except in perſons very happily born, to open and to liberalize the mind exactly in the ſame proportion. Paſſing from that ſtudy, he did not go very largely into the world; but plunged into buſineſs,---I mean into the buſineſs of office, and the limited and fixed methods and forms eſtabliſhed there. Much knowledge is to be had undoubtedly in that line; and there is no knowledge which is not valuable. But it may be truly ſaid, that men too much converſant in office, are rarely minds of remarkable enlargement. Their habits of office are apt to give them a turn to think the ſubſtance of buſineſs not to be much more important than the forms in which it is conducted. Theſe forms are adapted to ordinary occaſions; and therefore perſons, who are nurtured in office, do admirably well, as long as things go on in their common order; but when the high-roads are broken up, and the waters out, when a new and troubled ſcene is opened, and the *file* affords no precedent, then it is that a greater knowledge of mankind, that a far more extenſive comprehenſion of things is requiſite than ever office gave, or than office can ever give. Mr. GRENVILLE thought better of the wiſdom and power of human legiſlation than in truth it deſerves. He conceived, and many conceived along with him, that the flouriſhing trade of this country was greatly owing to

law

law and inſtitution, and not quite ſo much to liberty; for but too many are apt to believe regulation to be commerce, and taxes to be revenue. Among regulations, that which ſtood firſt in reputation was his idol. I mean the act of navigation. He has often profeſſed it to be ſo. The policy of that act is, I readily admit, in many reſpects well underſtood. But I do ſay, that if the act be ſuffered to run the full length of its principle, and is not changed and modified according to the change of times and the fluctuation of circumſtances, it muſt do great miſchief, and frequently even defeat its own purpoſe."

Here we have a portrait exactly in the ſtile of ſir JOSHUA REYNOLDS---the outline bold and ſtriking---every feature beautifully preſerved---the colouring vivid---and the drapery elegant and ſuitable. We ſhould admire ſuch a piece at an exhibition; but we do not ſee the neceſſity or propriety of introducing a *full-length* of Mr. GRENVILLE, in order to ſhew the impolicy of the ſtamp act. The importance of the ſubject is evidently ſacrificed to the vanity of the ſpeaker; and by this minute ſurvey of the miniſter's character our attention is drawn away from the bad effects of his colonial ſyſtem. To theſe, however, Mr. BURKE at length conducts us, and deſcribes them with his uſual eloquence. "After the war," ſays he, "and in the laſt years of it, the trade of America had increaſed beyond the ſpeculations of the moſt ſanguine imaginations. It ſwelled out on every ſide. It filled all its proper channels to the brim. It overflowed with a rich redundance, and breaking its banks on the right and on the left, it ſpread out upon ſome places, where it was indeed improper, upon others where it was only irregular. It is the nature of all greatneſs not to be exact; and great trade will always be attended with conſiderable abuſes. The contraband

will always keep pace in ſome meaſure with the fair trade. It ſhould ſtand as a fundamental maxim, that no vulgar precaution ought to be employed in the cure of evils, which are cloſely connected with the cauſe of our proſperity. Perhaps this great perſon turned his eye ſomewhat leſs than was juſt, towards the incredible increaſe of the fair trade; and looked with ſomething of too exquiſite a jealouſy towards the contraband. He certainly felt a ſingular degree of anxiety on the ſubject; and even began to act from that paſſion earlier than is commonly imagined. For whilſt he was firſt lord of the admiralty, though not ſtrictly called upon in his official line, he preſented a very ſtrong memorial to the lords of the treaſury, (my lord BUTE was then at the head of the board,) heavily complaining of the growth of the illicit commerce in America. Some miſchief happened even at this time from this over-earneſt zeal. Much greater happened afterwards, when it operated with greater power in the higheſt department of the finances. The bonds of the act of navigation were ſtraitened ſo much, that America was on the point of having no trade, either contraband or legitimate. They found, under the conſtruction and execution then uſed, the act no longer *tying*, but actually *ſtrangling* them."

The juſtneſs of this remark will eaſily reconcile us to its ſeeming ſeverity. As ſoon as Mr. GRENVILLE became chancellor of the exchequer, he thought it his firſt duty to extinguiſh ſmuggling; and he began with an endeavour to cut off all commercial intercourſe between the Britiſh colonies and the French and Spaniſh ſettlements. The trade was certainly illicit; but as many parts of it were highly beneficial to thoſe who carried it on, and ultimately to the mother countries in Europe, every reſtraint ought to have been impoſed with the utmoſt delicacy and

and caution. The orders ſent out by the miniſter to the naval commanders in the Weſt Indies were too rigorous, or, at leaſt, too liable to abuſe. Under the idea of putting a total ſtop to ſmuggling, ſhips of war were converted into *guarda-coſtas*, and captains of the navy were obliged to take the uſual cuſtom-houſe oaths, and to act in the capacity of revenue officers. By theſe means, the nature of their own exalted character was debaſed, and that irregular vivacity of theirs, and contempt of common forms, which had been ſo lately and with ſuch advantage exerted againſt the enemy, were now inconſiderately played off againſt the ſubject. Unacquainted with all thoſe caſes, in which ſhips are, or are not, liable to ſeizure, to penalty, or detention, they gave a fatal blow to the intereſts of trade, without promoting in any reſpect Mr. GRENVILLE's intentions.

The firſt branch of commerce which felt the weight of the blow was that which had been for a long time carried on between the Britiſh and Spaniſh plantations, to the great advantage of both, but eſpecially the former, the chief materials of it being, on the ſide of the Britiſh colonies, Britiſh manufactures, or ſuch of their own produce as enabled them to purchaſe thoſe manufactures; and, on the part of the Spaniards, gold and ſilver in bullion and in coin, cochineal, and medicinal drugs, beſides live ſtock and mules, with which the Weſt India iſlands uſed to be ſupplied through the ſame channel, and which were ſtill more neceſſary than the precious metals. Though this trade did not claſh with the ſpirit of any of the prohibitory acts, yet it was found to vary from the letter of them ſufficiently to afford the revenue officers a plea for doing that from duty, which they had ſtrong temptations to do from motives of intereſt. Accordingly they ſeized indiſcriminately all Britiſh as well as foreign ſhips engaged

gaged in that traffic, which the cuſtom-houſe officers, ſtationed on ſhore, had always permitted to paſs unnoticed.

The ſame misfortune attended the trade carried on by the American colonies with the French Weſt India iſlands, and which was no leſs lucrative than the former. It depended on a mutual exchange of articles, which would have otherwiſe remained uſeleſs incumbrances on the hands of the poſſeſſors, ſo that it united all the advantages which liberal minds include in the idea of a well-regulated commerce. It had been interrupted during the war, but was ſoon likely to flouriſh again, had not Mr. GRENVILLE thought its ſuppreſſion a matter of the utmoſt importance to the trade and revenue of Great Britain. Sound policy would rather have connived at ſuch a reſource, which not only prevented the North American colonies from being drained of their current caſh by the calls of the mother country upon them, but afforded ſupplies of ſpecie for the purpoſes of internal circulation. This was of the greater moment, as their domeſtic trade neceſſarily increaſed from day to day, in proportion to the remarkable increaſe of mankind in that part of the world, where the cheapneſs of land determined the greater part of the inhabitants to the exerciſe of the rural arts, ſo favorable to population.

In conſequence of Mr. GRENVILLE's prohibitions, which were for ſome time enforced by the naval officers with the utmoſt ſeverity, not only all the contraband, but the fair and lawful trade of the Americans was threatened with irretrievable ruin. Other circumſtances, the appointment of courts of admiralty, the extinction of the paper currencies, and a compulſory proviſion for the quartering of ſoldiers, concurred with thoſe checks on the coaſting and maritime trade to make the people of America think themſelves proceeded againſt as delinquents, or

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at beſt as people under ſuſpicion of delinquency. But the grand manœuvre, as Mr. BURKE well obſerves, was the fifteenth act of the fourth of GEORGE III; which opened a new principle, and may be properly ſaid to begin the ſecond period of the policy of this country with regard to the colonies. The ſcheme of a regular plantation parliamentary revenue was then adopted in theory, and ſettled in practice---a revenue, not ſubſtituted in the place of, but ſuperadded to, a monopoly. "This act, ſir," continues Mr. BURKE, "had for the firſt time the title of *granting duties in the colonies and plantations of America*; and for the time it was aſſerted in the preamble, *that it was juſt and neceſſary that a revenue ſhould be raiſed there.* Then came the technical words of *giving and granting*; and thus a complete American revenue act was made in all the forms, and with a full avowal of the right, equity, policy, and even neceſſity of taxing the colonies, without any formal conſent of theirs. **** Sir, it has been ſaid in the debate, that when the firſt American revenue act paſſed, the Americans did not object to the principle. It is true they touched it but very tenderly. It was not a direct attack. They were, it is true, as yet novices, ---as yet unaccuſtomed to direct attacks upon any of the rights of parliament. The duties were port duties, like thoſe they had been accuſtomed to bear; with this difference, that the title was not the ſame, the preamble not the ſame, and the ſpirit altogether unlike."

Mr. BURKE then takes notice of ſome pretences which had been urged in juſtification of Mr. GRENVILLE's conduct towards the colonies. It was ſaid, that he had given their agents an option for their aſſemblies to tax themſelves, which they had refuſed. Mr. BURKE endeavours to prove that this was neither

true

true nor poſſible. He obſerves firſt, that Mr. GRENVILLE had never thought fit to make ſuch an apology for himſelf in the innumerable debates on the ſubject. That gentleman might have propoſed to the colony agents, that they ſhould agree in ſome mode of taxation as the ground of an act of parliament. But he never could have propoſed that they ſhould tax themſelves on requiſition: he well knew, that the colony agents could have no general powers to conſent to it; and they had no time to conſult their aſſemblies for particular powers, before he paſſed his firſt revenue act: he had alſo declared his opinion an hundred times in the houſe, that the colonies could not legally grant any revenue to the crown; and that infinite miſchiefs would be the conſequence of ſuch a power: he had even told one of the members, who had ſtated his diſlike to the ſtamp-act, that he was willing to exchange that duty for any other equally productive; but that any objections to the Americans being taxed by parliament were uſeleſs, as he was determined on the meaſure. It was therefore evident that the chancellor of the exchequer had no idea of leaving it at the option of the colonial aſſemblies to tax themſelves. Mr. BURKE goes on in a tone of triumph. "Thus, ſir," he adds, "I have diſpoſed of this falſhood. But falſhood has a perennial ſpring. It is ſaid, that no conjecture could be made of the diſlike of the colonies to the principle. This is as untrue as the other. After the reſolution of the houſe, and before the paſſing of the ſtamp-act, the colonies of Maſſachuſet's Bay and New York did ſend remonſtrances, objecting to this mode of parliamentary taxation. What was the conſequence? They were ſuppreſſed; they were put under the table, notwithſtanding an order of council to the contrary, by the miniſtry which compoſed the very council that

that had made the order; and thus the houſe proceeded to its buſineſs of taxing without the leaſt regular knowledge of the objections which were made to it. But to give that houſe its due, it was not over deſirous to receive information, or to hear remonſtrance. On the fifteenth of February 1765, whilſt the ſtamp-act was under deliberation, they refuſed with ſcorn even ſo much as to receive four petitions preſented from ſo reſpectable colonies as Connecticut, Rhode iſland, Virginia, and Carolina; beſides one from the traders of Jamaica. As to the colonies, they had no alternative left to them, but to diſobey; or to pay the taxes impoſed by that parliament which was not ſuffered, or did not ſuffer itſelf, even to hear them remonſtrate upon the ſubject."

After this minute ſurvey of the character and meaſures of Mr. GEORGE GRENVILLE, the next portrait which attracts our notice in Mr. BURKE's hiſtorical gallery is that highly finiſhed one of lord ROCKINGHAM, of which we have given ſome account in a former part of this work. A very handſome compliment is alſo paid to general CONWAY, then ſecretary of ſtate, who moved the repeal of the ſtamp-act, and whoſe ſubſequent deſertion of his friends Mr. BURKE laments in very affecting language. "I remember," ſays he, "with a melancholy pleaſure, the ſituation of the honourable gentleman who made the motion for the repeal; in that criſis, when the whole trading intereſt of this empire, crammed into your lobbies, with a trembling and anxious expectation waited, almoſt to a winter's return of light, their fate from your reſolutions. When, at length, you had determined in their favor, and your doors, thrown open, ſhewed them the figure of their deliverer in the well-earned triumph of his important victory, from the whole of that grave

multitude there aroſe an involuntary burſt of gratitude and tranſport. They jumped upon him like children on a long abſent father. They clung about him as captives about their redeemer. All England, all America, joined in his applauſe. Nor did he ſeem inſenſible to the beſt of all earthly rewards, *the love and admiration of his fellow-citizens.* Hope elevated, and joy brightened his creſt. I ſtood near him; and his face, to uſe the expreſſion of the ſcripture of the firſt martyr, *his face was as if it had been the face of an angel.* I do not know how others feel; but if I had ſtood in that ſituation, I never would have exchanged it for all that kings in their profuſion could beſtow. I did hope, that that day's danger and honour would have been a bond to hold us all together for ever. But, alas! that, with other pleaſing viſions, is long ſince vaniſhed." A few years more brought about a fatal change in Mr. BURKE's feelings, ſentiments, and principles. A very ſlight breath of royal favor diſſolved thoſe bonds of danger and honour which ſhould have attached him for ever to his party; and he exchanged, on the very brink of the grave, all the glory of his paſt life, the endearments of friendſhip, the love and admiration of his fellow-citizens, the exquiſite pleaſure of conſcious rectitude, for a paltry penſion, obtained in a ſort of clandeſtine manner, as if to elude the public eye and public indignation.

From the marquis of ROCKINGHAM and general CONWAY, Mr. BURKE proceeds to take a view of the earl of CHATHAM's adminiſtration. Tranquillity and concord, he tells us, were reſtored by the repeal of the ſtamp-act; but did not continue long. "Another ſcene was opened, and other actors appeared on the ſtage. The ſtate, in the condition I have deſcribed it, was delivered into the hands of lord CHATHAM,——a great and celebrated name,---a name that keeps the name of this country reſpectable

reſpectable in every other country on the globe. It may be truly called,

Clarum et venerabile nomen
Gentibus, et multum noſtræ quod proderat urbi.

" The venerable age of this great man, his merited rank, his ſuperior eloquence, his ſplendid qualities, his eminent ſervices, the vaſt ſpace he fills in the eye of mankind, and, more than all the reſt, his fall from power, which, like death, canonizes and ſanctifies a great character, will not ſuffer me to cenſure any part of his conduct. I am afraid to flatter him: I am ſure I am not diſpoſed to blame him. Let thoſe who have betrayed him by their adulation, inſult him with their malevolence. But what I do not preſume to cenſure, I may have leave to lament. For a wiſe man, he ſeemed to me, at that time, to be governed too much by general maxims. I ſpeak with the freedom of hiſtory, and I hope without offence. One or two of theſe maxims flowing from an opinion not the moſt indulgent to our unhappy ſpecies, and ſurely a little too general, led him into meaſures that were greatly miſchievous to himſelf; and for that reaſon, among others, perhaps fatal to his country;--- meaſures, the effects of which, I am afraid, are for ever incurable." Here Mr. BURKE introduces his curious deſcription of the *checkered* and *ſpeckled* miniſtry, formed by the earl of CHATHAM; and then goes on thus to trace the effects:

" In conſequence of this arrangement, having put ſo much the larger part of his enemies and oppoſers into power, the confuſion was ſuch, that his own principles could not poſſibly have any effect or influence in the conduct of affairs. If ever he fell into a fit of the gout, or if any other cauſe withdrew him from public cares, principles directly the contrary were ſure to predominate. When he had executed his plan, he had not an inch of

ground to ſtand upon. When he had accompliſhed his ſcheme of adminiſtration, he was no longer a miniſter. When his face was hid but for a moment, his whole ſyſtem was on a wide ſea, without chart or compaſs. The gentlemen, his political friends, who, with the names of various departments of miniſtry, were admitted, to ſeem, as if they acted a part under him, with a modeſty that becomes all men, and with a confidence in him which was juſtified even in its extravagance by his ſuperior abilities, had never, in any inſtance, preſumed upon any opinion of their own. Deprived of his guiding influence, they were whirled about, the ſport of every guſt, and eaſily driven into any port; and as thoſe who joined with them in manning the veſſel were the moſt directly oppoſite to his opinions, meaſures, and character, and far the moſt artful and moſt powerful of the ſet, they eaſily prevailed, ſo as to ſeize upon the vacant, unoccupied, and derelict minds of his friends; and inſtantly they turned the veſſel wholly out of the courſe of his policy. As if it were to inſult as well as to betray him, even long before the cloſe of the firſt ſeſſion of his adminiſtration, when every thing was publicly tranſacted, and with great parade, in his name, they made an act, declaring it highly juſt and expedient to raiſe a revenue in America."

At that period of the earl of CHATHAM's evening declination, Mr. BURKE diſcovers from his political obſervatory another luminary, which we have already noticed, riſing in the oppoſite quarter of the heavens, and becoming for his hour, lord of the aſcendant. "This light too," ſays the orator, "is paſſed and ſet for ever. You underſtand, to be ſure, that I ſpeak of CHARLES TOWNSHEND, officially the reproducer of this fatal ſcheme; whom I cannot even now remember without ſome de-

gree

gree of ſenſibility. In truth, he was the delight and ornament of this houſe, and the charm of every private ſociety which he honoured with his preſence. Perhaps there never aroſe in this country, nor in any country, a man of a more pointed and finiſhed wit; and (where his paſſions were not concerned) of a more refined, exquiſite, and penetrating judgment. If he had not ſo great a ſtock, as ſome have had who flouriſhed formerly, of knowledge long treaſured up, he knew better by far, than any man I ever was acquainted with, how to bring together within a ſhort time, all that was neceſſary to eſtabliſh, to illuſtrate, and to decorate that ſide of the queſtion he ſupported. He ſtated his matter ſkilfully and powerfully. He particularly excelled in a moſt luminous explanation and diſplay of his ſubject. His ſtile of argument was neither trite and vulgar, nor ſubtle and abſtruſe. He hit the houſe juſt between wind and water. And not being troubled with two anxious a zeal for any matter in queſtion, he was never more tedious, or more earneſt, than the pre-conceived opinions and preſent temper of his hearers required; to whom he was always in perfect uniſon. He conformed exactly to the temper of the houſe; and he ſeemed to guide, becauſe he was always ſure to follow it."

Leſt Mr. Burke might be ſuppoſed to loſe ſight of the main ſubject in theſe minute delineations of character, he ſtops ſhort in his career, and makes an artful apology, to ſhew their juſt connection; and, at the ſame time, to rouze the attention of his hearers from any accidental languor. "I beg pardon," ſays he, "if when I ſpeak of this and of other great men, I appear to digreſs in ſaying ſomething of their characters. In this eventful hiſtory of the revolutions of America, the characters of ſuch men are of much importance. Great men are the guide-poſts and

and land-marks in the ſtate. The credit of ſuch men at court, or in the nation, is the ſole cauſe of all the publick meaſures. It would be an invidious thing, (moſt foreign I truſt to what you think my diſpoſition) to remark the errors into which the authority of great names has brought the nation, without doing juſtice at the ſame time to the great qualities, whence that authority aroſe. The ſubject is inſtructive to thoſe who wiſh to form themſelves on whatever of excellence has gone before them. There are many young members in the houſe (ſuch of late has been the rapid ſucceſſion of public men) who never ſaw that prodigy CHARLES TOWNSHEND; nor of courſe know what a ferment he was able to excite in every thing by the violent ebullition of his mixed virtues and failings—For failings he had undoubtedly—many of us remember them—we are this day conſidering the effect of them. But he had no failings which were not owing to a noble cauſe; to an ardent, generous, perhaps an immoderate paſſion for fame; a paſſion which is the inſtinct of all great ſouls. He worſhipped that goddeſs whereſoever ſhe appeared; but he paid his particular devotions to her in her favorite habitation, in her choſen temple, the houſe of commons. Beſides the characters of the individuals that compoſe our body, it is impoſſible not to obſerve, that this houſe has a collective character of its own. That character too, however imperfect, is not unamiable. Like all great public collections of men, you poſſeſs a marked love of virtue, and an abhorrence of vice. But among vices, there is none, which the houſe abhors in the ſame degree with obſtinacy. Obſtinacy is certainly a great vice; and in the changeful ſtate of political affairs it is frequently the cauſe of great miſchief. It happens, however, very unfortunately, that almoſt the whole line of the great and maſculine

virtues,

virtues, conſtancy, gravity, magnanimity, fortitude, fidelity, and firmneſs, are cloſely allied to this diſagreeable quality, of which you have ſo juſt an abhorrence; and, in their exceſs, all theſe virtues very eaſily fall into it. He, who paid ſuch a punctilious attention to all your feelings, certainly took care not to ſhock them by that vice which is the moſt diſguſtful to you. That fear of diſpleaſing thoſe who ought moſt to be pleaſed, betrayed him ſometimes into the other extreme. He had voted, and, in the year 1765, had been an advocate for the ſtamp-act. Things and the diſpoſition of men's minds were changed. In ſhort, the ſtamp-act began to be no favorite in this houſe. He therefore attended at the private meeting, in which the reſolutions moved by a right honourable gentleman [general CONWAY] were ſettled; reſolutions leading to the repeal. The next day he voted for that repeal; and he would have ſpoken for it too, if an illneſs, not, as was then given out, a political, but to my knowledge, a very real illneſs, had not prevented it.

"The very next ſeſſion," continues Mr. BURKE, "as the faſhion of this world paſſeth away, the repeal began to be in as bad an odour in this houſe as the ſtamp-act had been in the ſeſſion before. To conform to the temper which began to prevail, and to prevail moſtly amongſt thoſe moſt in power, he declared, very early in the winter, that a revenue muſt be had out of America. Inſtantly he was tied down to his engagements by ſome, who had no objection to ſuch experiments, when made at the coſt of perſons for whom they had no particular regard. The whole body of courtiers drove him onward. They always talked as if the king ſtood in a humiliated ſtate, until ſomething of the kind ſhould be done. Here this extraordinary man, then chancellor of the exchequer, found himſelf in great ſtraits. To

pleaſe

pleaſe univerſally was the object of his life; but to tax and to pleaſe, no more than to love and to be wiſe, is not given to men. However, he attempted it. To render the tax palatable to the partizans of American revenue, he made a preamble ſtating the neceſſity of ſuch a revenue. To cloſe with the American diſtinction, this revenue was *external*, or port-duty; but again, to ſoften it to the other party, it was a duty of *ſupply*. To gratify the *coloniſts*, it was laid on Britiſh manufactures; to ſatisfy the *merchants of Britain*, the duty was trivial, and (except that on tea, which touched only the devoted Eaſt India company) on none of the grand objects of commerce. To counterwork the American contraband, the duty on tea was reduced from a ſhilling to three pence. But to ſecure the favor of thoſe who would tax America, the ſcene of collection was changed, and, with the reſt, it was levied in the colonies. What need I ſay more? This fine-ſpun ſcheme had the uſual fate of all exquiſite policy. But the original plan of the duties, and the mode of executing that plan, both aroſe ſingly and ſolely from a love of our applauſe. He was truly the child of the houſe. He never thought, did, or ſaid any thing but with a view to you. He every day adapted himſelf to your diſpoſition; and adjuſted himſelf before it as at a looking-glaſs. He had obſerved (indeed it could not eſcape him) that ſeveral perſons, infinitely his inferiors in all reſpects, had formerly rendered themſelves conſiderable in this houſe by one method alone. They were a race of men (I hope in God the ſpecies is extinct) who, when they roſe in their place, no man living could divine, from any known adherence to parties, to opinions, or to principles, from any order or ſyſtem in their politics, or from any ſequel or connection in their ideas, what part they were going to take in any debate. It is aſtoniſhing how much this uncer-

tainty,

tainty, eſpecially at critical times, called the attention of all parties on ſuch men. All eyes were fixed on them, all ears open to hear them; each party gaped, and looked alternately for their vote, almoſt to the end of their ſpeeches. While the houſe hung in this uncertainty, now the *hear-hims* roſe from this ſide---now they rebellowed from the other; and that party, to whom they fell at length from their tremulous and dancing balance, always received them in a tempeſt of applauſe. The fortune of ſuch men was a temptation too great to be reſiſted by one, to whom, a ſingle whiff of incenſe withheld gave much greater pain, than he received delight in the clouds of it, which daily roſe about him from the prodigal ſuperſtition of his innumerable admirers. He was a candidate for contradictory honours; and his great aim was to make thoſe agree in admiration of him who never agreed in any thing elſe. Hence aroſe this unfortunate act, the ſubject of this day's debate; from a diſpoſition which, after making an American revenue to pleaſe one, repealed it to pleaſe others, and again revived it in hopes of pleaſing a third, and of catching ſomething in the ideas of all."

Having taken ſo comprehenſive a view of the changes of ſyſtem adopted by different miniſters from the ſtamp-act in 1764 to the revenue-act of 1767, which Mr. BURKE calls the fourth period of American policy, he declines going into the like details on the ſubject of lord NORTH's meaſures; but deſcribes them in general terms as extremely weak, abſurd, and inconſiſtent. "How we have fared, ſince then---" he ſays, "what woeful variety of ſchemes have been adopted; what enforcing, and what repealing; what bullying, and what ſubmitting; what doing, and undoing; what ſtraining, and what relaxing; what aſſemblies diſſolved for not obeying, and called again without

obedience; what troops ſent out to quell reſiſtance, and on meeting that reſiſtance, recalled; what ſhiftings, and changes, and jumblings of all kind of men at home, which left no poſſibility of order, conſiſtency, vigour, or even ſo much, as a decent unity of colour in any one public meaſure!—It is a tedious, irkſome taſk. My duty may call me to open it out ſome other time; * * * for the preſent I ſhall forbear." But he takes care to remind the houſe of the reſult of all theſe agitations, and then gives his opinion on the queſtion before them. "You have," ſays he, "an act of parliament, ſtating, *that it is expedient to raiſe a revenue in America.* By a partial repeal you annihilated the greateſt part of that revenue, which this preamble declares to be ſo expedient. You have ſubſtituted no other in the place of it. A ſecretary of ſtate has diſclaimed, in the king's name, all thoughts of ſuch a ſubſtitution in future.* The principle of this diſclaimer goes to what has been left, as well as what has been repealed. The tax which lingers after its companions, (under a preamble declaring an American revenue expedient, and for the ſole purpoſe of ſupporting the theory of that preamble) militates with the aſſurance authentically conveyed to the colonies; and is an exhauſtleſs ſource of jealouſy and animoſity. On this ſtate, which I take to be a fair one, not being able to diſcover any grounds of honour, advantage, peace, or power, for adhering, either to the act, or to the preamble, I ſhall vote for the queſtion which leads to the repeal of both."

* In a circular letter from lord HILLSBOROUGH, dated May 13, 1769, which Mr. BURKE called *a canonical book of miniſterial ſcripture*, or *the general Epiſtle to the Americans*, the latter were aſſured, "that, notwithſtanding inſinuations to the contrary, from men with factious and ſeditious views, his majeſty's adminiſtration had at no time entertained a deſign to propoſe to parliament to lay any further taxes on America, for the purpoſe of *raiſing a revenue*;" and that an application would be made to parliament in the next ſeſſion to take off the obnoxious duties of 1767.

It

It would be eaſy to point out many other ſtriking paſſages in this ſpeech, and particularly Mr. BURKE's reply to lord CARMARTHEN, who had ſaid, *that the Americans were our children*, and then aſked *how they could revolt againſt their parent?* "They are our children," Mr. BURKE anſwered; "but when children aſk for bread, we are not to give a ſtone. * * * When theſe children of ours wiſh to aſſimilate to their parent, and to reflect the beauteous countenance of Britiſh liberty, are we to turn to them the ſhameful parts of our conſtitution? Are we to give them our weakneſs for their ſtrength; our opprobrium for their glory; and the ſlough of ſlavery, which we are not able to work off, to ſerve them for their freedom?" In remarks of this kind there is a happy union of ardor and energy; but Mr. BURKE's *long ſtory* of men and meaſures, though decorated with all the florid beauties of eloquence, ſerved only to exerciſe the patience, or amuſe the attention of his hearers: it was equally unproductive of conviction, and *fruitleſs to their intereſts.*

Mr. BURKE's principal opponent in this debate was Mr. WEDDERBURNE, who a few years before had deſerted the popular party, and now ſeemed deſirous of recommending himſelf to the court faction by the moſt intemperate zeal. This is the man, of whom JUNIUS ſaid, *that there was ſomething about him which even treachery could not truſt.* In the year 1770, no man could have been more vehement than he was in reprobating the blunders and miſchievous meaſures of adminiſtration, by which, he aſſerted, America was totally diſſevered and cut off from the Britiſh empire. He then could queſtion the legality of a new office for the American department, and could turn into ridicule the *poor, miſerable, ſhort-lived precedent of a third ſecretary of ſtate, exiſting for a few weeks in the time of* EDWARD VI. *which*

had been brought forward to evade an expreſs law: he then could promote inquiries into lord MANSFIELD's unconſtitutional proceedings on trials for libels: he could raiſe his voice in defence of the liberty of the preſs, and of the power of juries, maintaining *that there was no part in the whole fabric of our excellent conſtitution, that boaſts a greater boldneſs, a more enlarged freedom of deſign, than this pillar of truly Britiſh order.* But he was no ſooner made ſolicitor general in 1771, than all thoſe romantic ſentiments vaniſhed; and the tongue of the boaſted patriot became, as it were, a pleading bawd for every enemy to his country. The crudeſt ſchemes of tyranny and folly were now ſure of his ready ſupport. He could now aſſert, in oppoſition to Mr. BURKE, that the repeal of the tea-duty would be only a proof of weakneſs, and would end in the ſurrender of all authority: he could juſtify the ſtamp-act, that fatal error of Mr. GRENVILLE; and, as Mr. BURKE hinted, could *raiſe up the bodies of the dead, to ſuck out the virtues of the living:* he could act a ſtill more indecent part the very ſame year, 1774, before the privy council, where he made a virulent attack on Dr. FRANKLIN, and did not bluſh at applying the character of a ZANGA, thoſe features of cool and deliberate malevolence which poetic fiction only had penned for the breaſt of a cruel African, to one of the greateſt benefactors of mankind. It was alſo ſaid, that he was the author of the ſcheme, adopted by lord NORTH the year after, for ſtarving the Americans into ſubmiſſion; when he acquired the ludicrous, characteriſtic appellation of *Starvation* WEDDERBURNE. Whatever truth there may be in this, his ſentiments with reſpect to America are unequivocally manifeſted in the famous denunciation, *delenda eſt Carthago,* with which he concluded one of his ſanguinary harangues. But Mr. WEDDERBURNE had ſtudied well the poli-

tical

tical map of Great Britain. The public road to fame and honour appeared to him too long, too rugged, and too arduous. He found the by-ways and *back-ſtair* turnings of the court much ſhorter, and better ſuited to his ſtrength and inclination. He alſo kept his eye ſteadily fixed on the exchequer, and ſuggeſted to lord NORTH a ſcheme for giving not only a legal, but a popular ſanction to public robbery, and thereby relieving his lordſhip from the neceſſity of deviſing new taxes, or of exhauſting the fertility of his genius in the invention of any other reſource. A conſiderable progreſs was made in the undertaking; but his lordſhip had not courage enough to carry it through: he left it to ſome more ſhameleſs, or more deſperate plunderer. Under the ſpecious pretext of improving the condition of the poor, a committee was appointed with powers to procure information of all the funds, or revenues of every kind, belonging not only to almshouſes, and hoſpitals, but to all the endowed ſchools, colleges, companies, and corporations in the kingdom, and even to the proprietors of unclaimed dividends at the bank. The plan then was to get an act paſſed for enabling government to ſeize all this property into its own hands, under a plauſible engagement to pay off the dividends whenever any claim to them ſhould be fully eſtabliſhed, and to allow alſo for the other purpoſes a certain annual revenue to be ſettled upon an average of their ſeveral receipts for the laſt ten years. Lord NORTH, as we have juſt hinted, had too much timidity, or too much honeſty to complete the deſign; but there being reaſon to preſume from what has been ſince done, that the preſent chancellor of the exchequer, and the preſent lord chancellor of England, *ipſe doli fabricator*, are not quite ſo ſcrupulous, this hint is intended as a warning to all parties concerned. Lord NORTH's approval of the project,

project, and the ſteps taken in conſequence, laid him under a particular obligation to Mr. WEDDERBURNE, who was advanced to the office of attorney general in the year 1778. The manner in which he next obtained the ſucceſſorſhip to DE GREY, as chief juſtice of the common pleas, and the rigour of his proceedings againſt the rioters in 1780, are ſufficiently known. Sir FLETCHER NORTON blew up the whole infamy of the former tranſaction in the houſe of commons. There is no neceſſity to make any comment on the object which the chief juſtice had in view, towards the cloſe of the year 1792, when he took, or affected to take, alarm at the diffuſion of French principles. He is now ſeated upon the *wool-ſack*; and we muſt not ſcrutinize his conduct any farther. When the law was given to MOSES on the top of *Sinai*, the people were ſtrictly charged not to approach too near the mount, as their curious gaze might expoſe them to death. Let us, in like manner, keep at an awful diſtance from the *wool-ſack*, nor dare to pierce through the blaze of power which ſurrounds that formidable ſeat.

As Mr. BURKE, in the above debate was immediately attacked by a former friend and aſſociate, ſo it is remarkable that his ableſt ſupporter on the ſame occaſion had lately been a very ſpirited adverſary. This was Mr. FOX, who a few weeks before had come over to the ſtandard of oppoſition, and who began to exert in every debate ſuch matchleſs powers of eloquence, as convinced lord NORTH, though too late, of the very bad policy, not to call it the inconſiderate folly of having diſmiſſed ſo formidable a champion from his ſeat on the treaſury bench, with circumſtances, it was ſaid, of rudeneſs and indignity. A ſameneſs of ideas, of paſſions, of intereſt,---a ſuppoſed congeniality of ſoul and ſentiment, united the two orators in the cloſeſt bonds of intimacy

timacy and co-operation. The language of SHAKESPEARE alone could deſcribe the apparent cordiality of their friendſhip---

> " Their double boſoms ſeem'd to wear one heart—
> " ——————————they twin'd as 'twere in love
> " Inſeparable."—

But, " O world! thy ſlippery turns!"---this friendſhip, which, on the part of Fox, was pure, generous, diſintereſted, did not take root in the jealous, the ſelfiſh boſom of BURKE. He was the child of art, not of nature: his virtues were counterfeits; and, on the firſt powerful temptation to betray, the charm was diſſolved; the maſk fell off; and the gall-bag of deceit burſt forth into " bittereſt enmity." Towards the cloſe of our narrative a circumſtantial account will be given of this unparalleled inſtance of depravity and baſeneſs.

At the diſſolution of parliament on the laſt day of September 1774, Mr. BURKE, who had hitherto repreſented Wendover, went down to Malton, one of the Yorkſhire boroughs under the influence of the marquis of ROCKINGHAM, at whoſe deſire he was choſen without heſitation. But, in the mean time, a very reſpectable party of diſſenters, merchants, and freemen of Briſtol, who highly approved of his late exertions in favor both of civil and religious liberty, put him in nomination for their city; and ſome of them ſet off expreſs for London, and thence for Malton, to requeſt his concurrence. They arrived at the latter place juſt after his election; but their offer was ſo flattering, that, with the conſent of his new conſtituents, he immediately repaired to Briſtol. Three candidates had already ſtarted, lord CLARE, one of the late repreſentatives, who declined on the ſecond day of the poll; Mr. BRICKDALE, his lordſhip's colleague, but not quite

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ſo unpopular, or ſo obnoxious; and Mr. CRUGER, an American merchant, who from intereſt and principle was averſe to any rupture between the colonies and the mother country. Mr. BURKE appeared on the huſtings in the afternoon of the ſixth day's poll, and addreſſed the electors in a conciſe, pertinent, and very inſinuating ſpeech. He expreſſed his high opinion of the great truſt they had to confer, a modeſt diffidence in his own abilities, yet a readineſs to give up his fears to their wiſhes. He candidly avowed his ſentiments on the ſubject of the unhappy conteſt with America: he declared himſelf a zealous advocate for rational liberty; and took care alſo to captivate his hearers by telling them that commerce was the other great ſource of the national proſperity and dignity, and that it had ever been a very particular and a very favorite object of his ſtudy, in its principles and in its details. This ſpeech was received with great applauſe; and Mr. BURKE took care to ſtrengthen the favorable impreſſion by a ſtill more eloquent addreſs at the concluſion of the poll, when Mr. CRUGER and he were declared by the ſheriffs to be duly elected.

But though Mr. BURKE appeared ſo ſincere in his panegyrics on trade, and ſo ambitious, as he pretended, to derive authority and ſupport from the repreſentation of a great commercial city, yet no man had in his heart ſo deeply rooted a contempt for the character and profeſſion of a merchant. He had imbibed all the abſurd prejudices of the old Romans with reſpect to trade: the words *merchant* and *thief* always appeared to him nearly ſynonimous; and he never could ſeparate the idea of commerce from that of excluſion, monopoly, and avarice. "Do not talk to me," ſaid he once in the houſe of commons, "of the liberality and patriotiſm of a merchant: his God is his gold;---his country his invoice;---his deſk his altar;---his ledger his bible;---his church

church his Exchange; and he has faith in none but his banker." In converſing with his intimate friends, he often amuſed himſelf with turning into ridicule the narrow, contracted ideas of the generality of merchants; and ſaid it was juſt as abſurd in the citizens of Briſtol to chuſe a merchant for their repreſentative, as it would be in the people of Birmingham, had they the right of ſuffrage, to ſend a ſmith to parliament. By way of illuſtration, he uſed to relate the circumſtance of his having made a well received ſpeech from the huſtings at Briſtol, when poor CRUGER, ſtanding by his ſide, but maſter of no other language than the ſhort vocabulary of the compting houſe, cried, "I ſay *ditto* to Mr. BURKE---I ſay *ditto* to Mr. BURKE."---"Here was a fellow," obſerved the orator, "fit to be truſted with the defence of the deareſt rights and intereſts of a great nation, and at a criſis too which required the utmoſt combination of wiſdom and talents."

It was not long before Mr. BURKE gave his conſtituents a proof of his own equality to thoſe important duties, and of his zeal to avert from them the impending ruin of their trade, and from the nation at large the horrors and calamities of civil war. The rejection of a bill for ſettling the troubles in America, which had been brought into the upper houſe by the earl of CHATHAM, did not diſcourage Mr. BURKE from making a ſimilar attempt in the commons. On the twenty-ſecond of March, 1775, he brought forward his famous conciliatory propoſitions, which were introduced and illuſtrated by one of the moſt diſpaſſionate, argumentative, and truly eloquent ſpeeches that ever he delivered. He ſaid that his plan was founded on the ſure and ſolid baſis of experience; that neither the chimeras of imagination, abſtract ideas of right, or mere general theories of government ought to

be attended to: government, in order to be beneficial, or even practicable, ſhould be adapted to the feelings, habits, and received opinions of the people: all ſchemes of government, which had been, or could be propoſed, without due regard to theſe matters, would be found ineffectual and dangerous: deſpotiſm itſelf muſt bend to ſituations and circumſtances: he diſclaimed therefore all diſcuſſion reſpecting the queſtion of *right*, and wiſhed it to be conſidered ſolely as a matter of *policy*: without inquiring whether they had a right to render their people miſerable, he aſked, whether it was not their intereſt to make them happy?---and, inſtead of taking the opinion of a lawyer on what they *might* do, he thought it more conſonant with reaſon, humanity, and juſtice, to conſult what they *ought* to do in an emergency like the preſent: the idea of governing by force he reprobated as groſs in its conception, uncertain in its effects, and ruinous even in its ſucceſs: the colonies, as they had hitherto been governed, were living monuments of the wiſdom of our anceſtors: he took a view of the origin and progreſs of thoſe colonies, the aſtoniſhing growth of their population, the rapid increaſe of their commerce, fiſheries, and agriculture; and thence deduced the line of conduct that ſhould be purſued with regard to them,---a line, he aſſerted, which had uniformly led to ſecurity, advantage, and honour: he went into an hiſtorical detail of the manner of admitting Ireland, Wales, and the counties palatine of Cheſter and Durham into *an intereſt in the conſtitution*; and endeavoured to prove that this admiſſion was not only the cauſe of the internal happineſs of thoſe countries, but of their attachment to the crown and ſupreme legiſlature: this, he maintained, had always been the grand principle of Britiſh policy towards all parts of the empire, though the mode of applying it was neceſſarily varied according to circumſtances:

ſtances: to this old principle he therefore wiſhed to go back, and to record it in the journals, as a ſettled ground of future proceedings, in order to guard againſt the miſchiefs of late inconſtancy: he took the doctrine, language, and mode of reaſoning, contained in the preambles to former acts of parliament, for his models; and on theſe he meant "to eſtabliſh the equity and juſtice of a taxation of America by *grant*, and not by *impoſition*;---to mark the legal competency of the colony aſſemblies for the ſupport of their government in peace, and for public aids in times of war; ---to acknowledge that this legal competency has had a dutiful and beneficial exerciſe; and that experience has ſhewn the benefit of their *grants*, and the futility of parliamentary *taxation* as a method of ſupply." This was the ſubſtance of Mr. BURKE's ſix firſt propoſitions; to which he added ſeven more, reſpecting the ſettlement of an independent judicature, the regulation of the courts of admiralty, and the repeal of the late coercive acts. The previous queſtion being moved on the firſt propoſition, it was carried in favor of the miniſtry by two hundred and ſeventy voices againſt ſeventy-eight; which decided the fate of all the reſt.

Inſtead of liſtening to the pacific ſuggeſtions of ſound, liberal, enlightened policy, the infatuated miniſtry ſeemed only intent upon new modes of barbarous and frantic coercion. WEDDERBURNE's *ſtarvation* ſcheme, before alluded to, was tried in the ſhape of an act to reſtrain the trade and commerce of the New England provinces, and to prohibit them from carrying on the fiſheries on the banks of Newfoundland. By the operation of this act half a million of people were condemned to periſh by famine; and, in order to increaſe the number of victims, the ſame reſtraints were ſoon after extended to the colonies of Eaſt and Weſt Jerſey, Penſylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South

Carolina, and to the countries on the Delawar, becauſe they had concurred in the commercial reſolutions of the people of New England. This atrocious rigor was accompanied with an inſulting ſhew of lenity in a reſolution moved by lord NORTH, and carried in the houſe of commons, as the baſis of a future agreement, "that when any of the colonies ſhould propoſe, according to their abilities, to raiſe their due proportion towards the common defence, ſuch proportion to be raiſed under the authority of the aſſembly of ſuch province, and to be diſpoſable by parliament; and when ſuch colony ſhould alſo engage to provide for the ſupport of the civil government and the adminiſtration of juſtice within ſuch province; it would be proper, if ſuch propoſal ſhould be approved by his majeſty in parliament, to forbear, in reſpect of ſuch colony, to levy any duties or taxes, or to impoſe any farther duties or taxes, except ſuch as ſhould be neceſſary for the regulation of trade." Such a reſolution could never have been drawn up with any ſincere deſign to conciliate. There was no man either in the cabinet, or in parliament, ſo great an ideot as to imagine, that it could delude a people who were rouzed by continual irritation to vigilance and jealouſy---a people who had avowed their determined purpoſe to riſk all conſequences, "even though it were revealed from heaven," as one of their moſt admired ſpeakers ſaid, "that nine hundred and ninety nine were to periſh in the conteſt, and one only of a thouſand to ſurvive and retain his liberty." The ſame ſpirit dictated every line of the memorable declaration of the colonies, which was iſſued in the month of July following, and was read at the head of every one of their regiments. "We are reduced," ſaid they, "to the alternative of unconditional ſubmiſſion, or reſiſtance by force: the latter is our choice. We have

have counted the coſt of this conteſt, and find nothing ſo dreadful as voluntary ſlavery. Honour, juſtice, and humanity forbid us tamely to ſurrender that freedom which we received from our anceſtors, and which our poſterity have a right to receive from us. We cannot endure the infamy and guilt of reſigning ſucceeding generations to that wretchedneſs which inevitably awaits them, if we baſely entail hereditary bondage upon them." *** Brave men! you have not brought that diſgrace upon yourſelves, nor tranſmitted the inheritance of ſlavery to your deſcendants. Every generation will review your conduct with admiration and gratitude; and, in caſe of any future conteſts with future tyrants, will look up to your bright example as to a pillar of fire, moving before them, and ſhewing them the way to liberty and glory!

Though Mr. BURKE's arguments in favor of conciliation had ſuch little effect when oppoſed to the influence of the miniſter in the houſe of commons, yet, as ſoon as the ſpeech was printed, they ſank deeply into the public mind. In a ſhort time after, another work appeared, which powerfully co-operated in expoſing the whole ſyſtem of miniſterial perverſeneſs, and proving it to be *a ſeries of the blindeſt rigour followed by retraction,---of violence followed by conceſſion,---of miſtake, weakneſs, and inconſiſtency.* This excellent work was Dr. PRICE's "Obſervations on the Juſtice and Policy of the War with America," written with all the animation of an elegant and zealous advocate for liberty, yet tempered with the candor of a philoſopher, the coolneſs of a ſtateſman, and the mild, perſuaſive benignity of a divine. The author was honoured with the thanks of the city of London; and the freedom of that metropolis was preſented to him in a gold box, by an unanimous vote of the corporate body. The

fretful

fretful quills of venality were immediately pointed at thoſe two admirable productions. Dr. SHEBBEARE ſtood foremoſt in the number of aſſailants. This poor penſioner was a man of ſome ſhrewdneſs, wit, and humour---*ſed impar congreſſus Achilli*---totally unequal to a conteſt with ſuch writers as Mr. BURKE and Dr. PRICE. He looked like a dwarf advancing with ridiculous ſtrut to challenge two giants. Beſides, SHEBBEARE was then far advanced in years: age and infirmities had much impaired his intellectual powers: the old viper had loſt his teeth, and could only ſhew his native malignity by effuſions of impotent venom. Yet even theſe appeared to ſome body deſerving of reward; and one hundred pounds a year more were added to his penſion.

The ſword was unhappily drawn by Great Britain and America in the ſpring; and Mr. BURKE renewed his attempt towards an amicable adjuſtment of the fatal quarrel, as ſoon as another ſeſſion afforded him the opportunity. Having, on the ſixteenth of November 1775, preſented a petition from ſome clothiers in Wiltſhire deprecating the horrors of civil war, and conjuring the houſe to adopt lenient meaſures, "he wiſhed," he ſaid, "that the prayer of the petition might be conſidered as an exordium to the buſineſs he was going to propoſe,"---a plan for procuring peace by *conceſſion*. He ſhewed very clearly that no good, but much evil would ariſe from every attempt to reduce the colonies to obedience by *ſimple war*, *in order to a perfect conqueſt*; or by a *mixture of war and treaty*, which he was ſure would ſtumble upon the very threſhold: he therefore recommended *conceſſion previous to treaty*: he conſidered parliament not as the *repreſentative*, but as the *ſovereign* of America: ſovereignty was not in its nature an idea of abſolute unity, but was capable of great complexity

complexity and infinite modifications, according to the temper of thoſe who are to be governed, and to the circumſtances of things; which being infinitely diverſified, government ought to be adapted to them, and to conform itſelf to their nature, inſtead of vainly endeavouring to force that to a contrary bias: circumſtances not in our power to alter or controul made conceſſion on the ſubject of taxation indiſpenſibly eſſential to the attainment of peace: nothing worſe happened to us than to all nations poſſeſſing extenſive empires: in large bodies, the circulation of power muſt be leſs vigorous at the extremities: three thouſand miles of ocean formed a powerful principle in the natural conſtitution of things for weakening government, of which no contrivance could deſtroy the effect: Spain in her American provinces ſubmitted to this immutable condition, the eternal law of extenſive and detached empire: a power ſteps in, which limits the arrogance of the raging paſſions, and ſays, *Hither ſhalt thou go, and no farther: who are you, that you ſhould fret, and rage, and bite the chain of nature?* Such effects were incident to all the forms into which empire could be thrown. In conformity to theſe ideas, and keeping particularly in view the leading one that parliament was the *ſovereign*, not the *repreſentative* of America, he propoſed to quiet the preſent troubles in the ſame manner that the ancient diſputes between the crown and the people on the ſubject of taxation were terminated in the reign of EDWARD II. The kings of England, he obſerved, had been, before that time, in the habit of levying taxes upon the people by their own authority: they juſtified that practice upon the very ſame principles, and with the ſame arguments as thoſe now uſed to ſupport the right of parliament in taxing the Americans: they contended that the crown, being charged with the public defence, muſt be furniſhed

furniſhed alſo with the means of providing for it; and that it would be abſurd to commit a truſt into the hands of one perſon, and to leave the power of executing it to depend upon the will of another: yet the force of theſe arguments, and the allurements of the claim did not prevent one of the greateſt and wiſeſt of the Engliſh monarchs from making a clear and abſolute ſurrender of it in the famous ſtatute "*De tallagio non concedendo,*" which laid the foundation of unity and happineſs in his kingdom, and, in all human probability, was the means of preſerving the other branches of the royal prerogative inviolate: that ſtatute, which wiſely made no mention of any former right, conſiſted of three principal parts, a ſimple renunciation of taxing; a repeal of all laws which had been made upon a contrary principle: and a general pardon: taking therefore the ſpirit of an act ſo ſalutary in its operations for his guide, and ſuppoſing Great Britain to ſtand in the place of the ſovereign, and America in that of the ſubject, Mr. BURKE made a *renunciation* of the exerciſe of taxation, without at all interfering in the queſtion of *right*, the firſt great object of his bill: it retained, at the ſame time, the powers of levying duties for the regulation of commerce; but the money ſo raiſed was to be at the diſpoſal of the general aſſemblies: it inveſted the crown with authority to convene, when neceſſary, meetings of deputies from the ſeveral colonies; and their acts were to be binding upon all: the duty act of the year 1767, with the late coercive and penal laws, were to be repealed: a general amneſty was to be granted, upon the Americans laying down their arms within a given time; and all future revenues were to be *free aids* from the ſubjects there, as well as here. Though the bill was rejected by two hundred and ten voices againſt one hundred and five who voted for it, yet Mr. BURKE had

had ſome cauſe to exult, that this was the higheſt proportion in numbers which the oppoſition had hitherto borne to the majority.

Four days after the rejection of Mr. BURKE's plan, and in open contempt, as it were, of the advice he gave to the miniſtry, at the opening of the ſeſſion, "to meet America with a friendly countenance, and not to let England any longer appear like a porcupine, armed all over with acts of parliament," lord NORTH brought in a bill, the profeſſed object of which was to unite the moſt rigorous coercion with offers of lenity. It increaſed the ſeverity of penal reſtrictions, while it affected to leave it in the power of America herſelf to prevent their operation. It contained an abſolute prohibition of all trade and intercourſe with the colonies, while they continued in rebellion; made their ſhips lawful prizes, and declared their property, whether conſiſting of veſſels or merchandize, to be forfeited to the captors. But, in order to lead on the mother country, under a deluſion of flattering hopes of peace, and to deceive, if poſſible, the Americans, it repealed three former oppreſſive acts, and contained a clauſe to enable the crown to appoint commiſſioners, who, beſides the power of ſimply granting pardons to individuals, ſhould be authorized to inquire into general and particular grievances, and to determine whether any part or the whole of a colony were returned to that ſtate of obedience, which might entitle them to be received within the king's peace and protection, in which caſe the penal reſtrictions were to ceaſe in their favor. Mr. BURKE was very pointed in his ſtrictures on this heterogeneous mixture of lenity and war. Its ſole object, he ſaid, was to enforce the noble lord's conciliatory motion of laſt year by military execution now. It was a retroſpective bill; for it inflicted puniſhment for acts thought innocent at the time they were committed, and legalized others which were acts of atrocious

plunder and robbery. Our Saviour ſent his apoſtles to teach and proclaim peace to all nations; but the political apoſtles, to be ſent out by this bill, would be the harbingers of civil war, in all its moſt horrid and hideous forms, accompanied by fire, ſword, and famine. The event proved the accuracy of theſe obſervations.

The employment of foreign hirelings to reduce our own fellow-ſubjects, the immenſe ſupplies for the proſecution of ſo unnatural a war, particularly the army extraordinaries, were the chief topics, upon which Mr. BURKE exerted himſelf after the Chriſtmas holidays, though to no purpoſe. In debates of this kind, he frequently experienced the truth of his own very laughable remark, "that one might as well recommend faſting to an alderman at a turtle feaſt in the city, as œconomy to a committee of ſupply."

At the opening of the ſeſſion in October 1776, the attacks on the miniſter were renewed with undiminiſhed ſpirit and ability; but after many ineffectual ſtruggles againſt ſuperior numbers, the whole of the ROCKINGHAM party began to relax in their attendance upon parliament, or rather to withdraw themſelves avowedly upon all queſtions which related to America, and only to aſſiſt in the diſpatch of private buſineſs. Mr. BURKE's account of their motives, and of the ſentiments of thoſe who differed from them in opinion as to the propriety of ſuch a ſtep, is very intereſting. The partial ſeceſſion of the former, he tells us, "was juſtified upon ſeveral grounds. They ſaid, that in the preſent ſtate of things, all oppoſition to the meaſures of government, particularly with reſpect to American affairs, was not only vain and fruitleſs; but, from the overbearing and reſiſtleſs force, which ſupported the miniſters on every queſtion, it became worſe---it was frivolous and contemptible: that it was too degrading to themſelves to be the continual inſtruments of oppoſing the ineffective

fective weapons of reaſon and argument to the deaf inſolence of an irreſiſtible force, which had long ſince determined upon its conduct, without the ſmalleſt regard to either: that there was no ſuch thing as ſaving a people againſt their will: that they had for a ſucceſſion of years perpetually apprized and warned the nation of the dangers attending thoſe ruinous meaſures which it was purſuing; and of the fatal precipice that muſt terminate that mad career, in which they were blindly and deſperately driven: * * * that as good and bad fortune were equally urged, and alike admitted as motives for a perſeverance in this courſe, it was not the part of wiſdom to ſtrive with impoſſibilities, or to draw upon themſelves the odium of their fellow-citizens by an ineffectual attempt to ſerve them: that they would therefore reſerve their exertions for a ſeaſon when the preſent national delirium had ſo far abated as to afford ſome hope of advantage."

Mr. BURKE does equal juſtice to that part of the oppoſition who diſapproved of this proceeding. "They queſtioned," he ſays, "whether any member could, conſiſtently with his duty, withdraw himſelf individually from the buſineſs of parliament, merely from an opinion that he would be outvoted, and that his attendance would therefore be uſeleſs. They acknowledged, that a ſeceſſion, collectively in a body, had not only the ſanction of precedent, but might be practiſed with great advantage, and be productive of much benefit in ſuch caſes as the preſent. But for this purpoſe, it muſt be attended with the following circumſtances: in the firſt place, it muſt be general, including the whole minority againſt the meaſure that provoked the ſeceſſion; and, in the next, it ſhould not be a ſilent act, but the motives for the ſeceſſion ſhould be proclaimed, either by a remonſtrance on the journals, or a public addreſs to the people. Under theſe circumſtances,"

and in caſes of imminent danger to the conſtitution, a ſeceſſion might operate as a call to the nation, and awaken the people to a ſenſe of their ſituation."

Though Mr. BURKE thought himſelf and his friends perfectly juſtifiabl in partially ſeceding, becauſe minorities, not being corporate bodies, had no way of compelling unanimity; yet he left no perſuaſive means untried to bring about that unanimity, and to make all parties of the oppoſition join in this public and ſolemn act. He even went ſo far as to adopt the idea of thoſe who thought the ſeceſſion ſhould be accompanied with a ſort of juſtificatory memorial; and he wrote an addreſs, not to the people, but to the king, ſtating in manly and ſpirited, yet decent and reſpectful language, the motives by which the ſeceders were actuated in the diſcharge of this imperious duty. The addreſs has been publiſhed, ſince Mr. BURKE's death, in "The Monthly Magazine," and in ſeveral of the newſpapers. We ſhall inſert it here, as a valuable ſummary of the politics of that period, as a maſterpiece in the ſtile of remonſtrance to the throne, and as a model to be conſulted on ſimilar occaſions. In point of argument, of energy, of important and unanſwerable truths, it is inferior only to Mr. GRATTAN's late addreſs to his conſtituents on his determination to retire from the parliament of Ireland. A few notes are added where ſome illuſtration appeared neceſſary.

TO THE KING.

"Moſt gracious ſovereign!

"We your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, ſeveral of the peers of the realm, and ſeveral members of the houſe of commons choſen by your people to repreſent them in your parliament, do, in our individual capacity, but

with

with hearts filled with the warmeſt affection to your majeſty, with the moſt inviolable attachment to your royal houſe, and with the moſt unfeigned devotion to your true intereſt, beg leave, at this awful criſis of your affairs, in all humility to approach your royal preſence.

"A ſituation without example neceſſitates a conduct without precedent*. We are driven in this mode of addreſſing your majeſty, reluctantly, to ſuperſede thoſe forms which, in other circumſtances, we ſhould highly reſpect; and to regulate ourſelves by no other rules than thoſe of our laws, our rights, and the profound reverence we bear to our ſovereign.

"We are called, ſire, in a manner peculiarly marked, ſingularly emphatical, and from a place from whence any thing implying cenſure falls with a deciſive weight, to concur in unanimous reprobation of thoſe meaſures which have produced our preſent diſtreſſes, and threaten us in future with others far more grievous. We hold ourſelves therefore bound for the preſervation of our honour, and, what ſtands next in our eſtimation, your majeſty's good opinion, to preſent, at the foot of your throne, to your majeſty, and our country, our humble apology for inflexibly perſevering in our diſſent from every part of thoſe proceedings, on the experience of their miſchief, which we originally gave from a ſure foreſight of their unhappy and inevitable tendency.

"We deplore, along with your majeſty, the diſtractions and diſorders which prevail in your empire. But we are convinced,

* Is it a ſatire on the patriotiſm of the nation that its parliamentary hiſtory does not yet afford a precedent of a minority virtuous and ſpirited enough to riſk every future hope of royal favor by daring to ſpeak truth to their king,—by preſenting ſuch an addreſs to the throne as could not be called the echo of miniſterial falſhood and delusion?

that

that the diſorders of the people, in the preſent time, are owing to the uſual and natural cauſe of ſuch diſorders at all times---the MISCONDUCT OF GOVERNMENT; that they are owing to plans laid in error, purſued with obſtinacy, and conducted without wiſdom. We cannot attribute ſo much to the power of faction, at the expence of human nature, as to ſuppoſe, that a combination of men, few in number, not conſiderable in rank, of no natural hereditary dependencies, of talents, which, however reſpectable, appear to be no way uncommonly impoſing, ſhould, by the efforts of their policy alone, be able to bring the people of your American dominions into the diſpoſition which has produced the preſent troubles. We cannot conceive, that, without ſome powerful concurring cauſe, any management ſhould prevail on ſome millions of people diſperſed over a whole continent, in thirteen provinces, not only unconnected, but in many particulars of religion, manners, government, and local intereſt, totally different and adverſe, voluntarily to ſubmit themſelves to a ſuſpenſion of all the profits of induſtry, and all the comforts of civil life, added to all the evils of an unequal war, carried on with circumſtances of the greateſt aſperity and rigour. This, ſire, could never have happened but from a general ſenſe of ſome grievance, ſo radical in its nature, and ſo ſpreading in its effects, as to poiſon all the ordinary ſatisfactions of life, to diſlocate the frame of ſociety, and to convert into fear and hatred that habitual reverence ever paid by mankind to an ancient and venerable government.

" That grievance is as ſimple in its nature, and as level to the moſt ordinary underſtanding, as it is powerful in affecting the moſt languid paſſions. It is an attempt made to diſpoſe of the whole property of a whole people, without their conſent.

" Your

"Your majeſty's Engliſh ſubjects in the colonies, poſſeſſing the ordinary faculties of mankind, know, *that to live under ſuch a plan of government is not to live in a ſtate of freedom.* Your Engliſh ſubjects in the colonies, ſympathizing with the ancient feelings of your ſubjects here, cannot live under a government which does not eſtabliſh that freedom as its baſe.

"This ſcheme being therefore ſet up in direct oppoſition to the rooted and inveterate prejudices of a whole people, has produced the effects which ever muſt reſult from ſuch a colliſion of power and opinion. For we beg leave, with all duty and humility, to repreſent to your majeſty (what we are perſuaded has been induſtriouſly concealed from you), that it is not the opinion only of a very great number, or even of the majority, but the univerſal ſenſe of the whole body of people in thoſe provinces, that ſuch a practice is ſubverſive of all their rights. This ſenſe has been declared by the unanimous voice of all their aſſemblies; each aſſembly alſo perfectly unanimous within itſelf: it has been declared as fully by the actual voice of the people *without* theſe aſſemblies, as by the conſtructive voice *within* them; as well by thoſe who addreſſed, as by thoſe who remonſtrated; and it is as much the avowed ſenſe of thoſe who have riſked their all rather than take up arms againſt your majeſty's forces, as of thoſe who have run the ſame riſk to oppoſe them. The only difference among them is, not on the grievance, but on the mode of redreſs; and we are ſorry to ſay, that they who have conceived hopes from the placability of thoſe miniſters that influence the public councils of this kingdom, diſappear in the multitude who conceive that paſſive compliance only confirms and emboldens oppreſſion.

"The ſenſe of a whole people, moſt gracious ſovereign, never ought to be contemned by wiſe and beneficent rulers, whatever

may

may be the abſtract claims, or even rights of the ſupreme power. We have been too early inſtructed, and too long habituated to believe, that *the only firm ſeat of all authority is in the minds, affections, and intereſts of the people*, to change our ſentiments for the convenience of a temporary arrangement of ſtate. It is not conſiſtent with equity or wiſdom, to ſet at defiance the general feelings of great communities, and all the orders which compoſe them. Much power is tolerated, and paſſes unqueſtioned, where much is yielded to opinion. All is diſputed where every thing is enforced. This is the tenet we hold on the duty and policy of conforming to the prejudices of a whole people, even where the foundation of ſuch prejudices may be falſe or diſputable. But permit us to lay at your majeſty's feet our deliberate judgment on the real merits of that principle, the violation of which is the known ground and origin of theſe troubles. We aſſure your majeſty, that, on our parts, we ſhould think ourſelves unworthy of life, *which we only value for the means of ſpending it in honour and virtue*, if we ever ſubmitted to taxes, to which we did not conſent, either directly, or by a repreſentation ſatisfactory to the body of the people. And we add, ſire, that if fortune, inſtead of bleſſing us with a ſituation where we may have daily acceſs to the propitious preſence of a gracious prince, had fixed us in ſettlements on the remoteſt part of the globe, we muſt carry theſe ſentiments with us, as part of our being; perſuaded, that the diſtance of ſituation would only render this privilege the more neceſſary, in the diſpoſal of property. Abuſes of ſubordinate authority increaſe, and all means of redreſs leſſen, as the diſtance of the ſubject removes him from the ſeat of the ſupreme power. What, in thoſe circumſtances, can ſave him from the laſt extremes of indignity and oppreſſion, but ſomething left in his own hands,

hands, which may enable him to conciliate the favor, and controul the exceſſes of government? When no means are poſſeſſed of power to awe, or to oblige, the ſtrongeſt ties which connect mankind in every relation, ſocial and civil, and which teach them mutually to reſpect each other, are broken. Independency, from that moment, virtually exiſts. Its formal declaration will quickly follow. Such muſt be our feelings for ourſelves. We are not in poſſeſſion of another rule for our brethren. When the late attempt practically to annihilate that privilege was made, great diſorders and tumults very unhappily and very naturally aroſe from it. In this ſtate of things we were of opinion, that ſatisfaction ought inſtantly to be given, or that at leaſt the puniſhment of the diſorder ought to be attended with the redreſs of the grievances. Becauſe, *whenever a diſorder ariſes from, and is directly connected with a grievance, to confine ourſelves to the puniſhment of the diſorder is to declare againſt the reaſon and juſtice of the complaint.**

"The methods then recommended and followed, as infallible means of reſtoring peace and order, we could not conſider as at all adapted to theſe purpoſes. On the contrary, we looked upon them to be, what they have proved to be, the cauſe of inflaming diſcontents into diſobedience, and reſiſtance into revolt. The great inſtruments in that unfortunate plan were the following: 1ſt. the infringement of the charter of Maſſachuſet's Bay, in many of its moſt eſſential points, upon a ſuggeſtion of abuſe, without citation, evidence, or hearing: 2d. the eſtabliſhment of military force, not accountable to the ordinary criminal tribunal in the country, in which they reſide: 3d. the putting that ſtop (alſo without hearing) to the commerce of a great maritime city,

* Mr. DUNDAS is well qualified to write a comment on this principle of ſound policy, in his diſpatches to the lord lieutenant of Ireland.

during the pleaſure of the crown. We could not conceive, when diſorders had ariſen from the complaint of one violated right, that to violate every other was the proper means of quieting exaſperated minds.* Recourſe was had to force, and we ſaw a force ſent out, enough to menace liberty, but not to awe reſiſtance; tending to bring odium on the civil power, and contempt on the military; at once to provoke and encourage reſiſtance. This mode of proceeding, by harſh laws and feeble armies, could not be defended on the principle of mercy and forbearance; for *mercy*, as we conceive, *conſiſts not in the weakneſs of the means, but in the benignity of the ends.* We apprehend that mild meaſures may be powerfully enforced; and that acts of extreme rigour and injuſtice may be attended with as much feebleneſs in the execution, as ſeverity in the formation.

" In conſequence of theſe terrors, which, falling upon ſome, threatened all, the colonies made a common cauſe with the ſufferers, and proceeded, on their parts, to acts of reſiſtance. Again we beſought your majeſty's miniſters to entertain ſome diſtruſt of the operation of coercive meaſures, and to profit of their experience. This experience had no effect: the modes of legiſlative rigour were conſtrued not to have been erroneous in their policy, but too limited in their extent: new ſeverities were adopted: the fiſheries of your people in America followed their charters; and their mutual combination to defend their common rights brought on prohibition of their mutual commercial intercourſe. No diſtinction of perſons or merits was obſerved: the peaceable

* Mr. BURKE here alludes to the acts which had been paſſed for altering the government of Maſſachuſet's Bay; for ſhutting up the port of Boſton during his majeſty's pleaſure; and for placing the king's troops in America beyond the reach or cognizance of the civil power there, even in caſes of murder.

and

and the mutinous, friends and foes, were alike involved, as if the rigour of the law had a tendency to recommend the authority of the legiſlator. If there had been no diſobedience, theſe ſevere laws could not have been propoſed as neceſſary: diſobedience prevailing, it was evident, beyond a doubt, nothing but force or conceſſion could reſtore authority. It ſeemed to us abſurd, in the higheſt degree, to hold out, as a means of quieting a people on the point of taking arms, the auſtere law which a rigid conqueror would enforce, on his ultimate ſucceſs. Force was ſent out, not ſufficient to hold one town: laws were paſſed to inflame thirteen provinces: at length Britiſh blood was ſpilt by Britiſh hands! A fatal æra! which we muſt ever deplore, becauſe your empire will for ever feel it. Your majeſty was touched with a ſenſe of ſo great a diſaſter: your paternal breaſt was affected with the ſufferings of your Engliſh ſubjects in America. You inclined to relieve their diſtreſſes, and to pardon their errors. You felt their ſufferings under the late penal acts of parliament; but your miniſtry felt differently: not diſcouraged by the pernicious conſequences of all they had hitherto adviſed, they obtained another act of parliament,* in which the rigours of all the former were conſolidated, and embittered by circumſtances of additional ſeverity and outrage. The whole trading property, even innoxious ſhipping in port, was indiſcriminately and irrecoverably given, as the plunder of foreign enemies, to the ſailors of your navy. This property was put out of the reach of your mercy. Your people were deſpoiled, and your navy, by a new, dangerous, prolific example, corrupted with the plunder of their countrymen. They were put, in their general and political, as well as perſonal capacities, out of the protection of your government. They were

* The capture act,

put on the footing not only of foreigners, but of foreign enemies. Though unwilling to dwell on all the improper modes of carrying on this ruinous war, and which lead directly to a ſeparation of the countries, we muſt beg leave to repreſent two, which, we are ſure, muſt have been entirely contrary to your majeſty's order or approbation. *Every courſe in hoſtility, however that hoſtility may be juſt or merited, is not juſtifiable or excuſable. It is the duty of thoſe who claim to rule over others, not to provoke them beyond the neceſſity of the caſe; nor to leave ſtings in their minds which muſt long rankle, even when the appearance of tranquillity is reſtored.* We, therefore, aſſure your majeſty, that it is with ſhame and ſorrow we have ſeen ſeveral acts of hoſtility, which could have no other tendency than incurably to alienate the minds of your American ſubjects. We are perſuaded, that to excite by a proclamation, iſſued by your majeſty's governor, an univerſal inſurrection of negro ſlaves, in any of the colonies, is a meaſure, full of complicated horrors, abſolutely illegal, ſuitable neither to the practice of war, nor to the laws of peace. Of the ſame quality we look upon all attempts to bring down upon your ſubjects an irruption of thoſe fierce and cruel tribes of ſavages and cannibals, in whom the veſtiges of human nature are nearly effaced by ignorance and barbarity. They are not fit allies for your majeſty in a war with your people: they are not fit inſtruments of an Engliſh government. Theſe and other things we diſclaim as having adviſed and approved; and we clear ourſelves to your majeſty, and to all civilized nations, from any participation whatever, before or after the fact, in ſuch unjuſtifiable proceedings. But there is one circumſtance which we lament equally with the cauſes of the war, and the modes of carrying it on: that no diſpoſition, whatever, towards peace or reconciliation has been ſhewn by

thoſe who have directed the public councils of theſe kingdoms, either before the breaking out of theſe hoſtilities, or during the continuance of them. Every propoſition made in your parliament to remove the cauſe of theſe troubles, by taking off taxes obnoxious for their principle or their deſign, has been over-ruled; every bill brought in for quiet, rejected on the firſt propoſition. The petitions of the colonies have not been admitted even to an hearing. The very poſſibility of public agency, by which ſuch petitions could authentically arrive at parliament, has been evaded and chicaned away. All public declarations, which indicate a diſpoſition to reconcile, are looſe, general, equivocal, capable of various meanings, or of none; and conſtrued differently, at different times, by thoſe on whoſe recommendation they have been made, as fit for that purpoſe; being, as they are, wholly unlike the preciſion and ſtability of public faith, and that ingenuous ſimplicity and native candour and integrity which formerly characterized the Engliſh nation.

" Inſtead of any relaxation of the claims of taxing up to the diſcretion of a parliament (which does not repreſent thoſe for whom they grant) your miniſters have deviſed a new mode of enforcing that claim much more effectually, both as to the quantity and application, than any of the former methods; and this mode has been expreſsly held out as a plan not to be departed from by the houſe of commons, and the very condition on which the legiſlature is to accept the dependence of the colonies.

" At length, when an act, putting your people out of your protection, was paſſed, your miniſters ſuffered ſeveral months to elapſe, without affording to them, or any of them, the means of entering into that protection, even on unconditional ſubmiſſion, contrary to your majeſty's gracious declaration, and the public faith.

" We

" We cannot, therefore, agree to unite in new ſeverities againſt the brethren of our blood, for an independency, to which we know, in our conſcience, they have been neceſſitated by the conduct of thoſe very perſons, who make uſe of it to provoke us to a continuance and repetition of the very acts, which, in a regular progreſſion, have led to this great misfortune.

" The reaſons, dread ſir, which have been uſed to juſtify this perſeverance in a refuſal to hear, or conciliate, have been reduced into a ſort of parliamentary maxims, which we do not approve. The firſt of theſe maxims is, that the two houſes ought not to receive, as they have hitherto refuſed to receive, petitions containing matter derogatory to any part of the authority they claim. We conceive this maxim, and the conſequent practice to be unjuſtifiable by reaſon, or the practice of other ſovereign powers, and muſt be productive, if adhered to, of a total ſeparation between this kingdom and its dependencies.

" The ſupreme power being, in ordinary caſes, the ultimate judge, can, as we conceive, ſuffer nothing in having any part of his rights excepted to, or even diſcuſſed, before himſelf. We know that ſovereigns in other countries, where the aſſertion of abſolute regal power is as high as the aſſertion of abſolute power in any politic body can be here, have, notwithſtanding, received many petitions in direct oppoſition to many of their claims of prerogative; have liſtened to them; condeſcended to diſcuſs, and to give anſwers to them. This refuſal to admit even the diſcuſſion of any part of an undefined prerogative will naturally tend to annihilate any privilege that can be claimed by an inferior dependent community, or any ſubordinate order in the ſtate.

" The next maxim, which has been put as a bar to any plan of accommodation, is, that no offer of terms of peace ought to be

be made, before parliament is aſſured that theſe terms will be accepted. In this we beg leave to repreſent to your Majeſty, that if, in all events, the policy of this kingdom is to govern the people in your colonies as a free people, no miſchief can happen from a declaration to them, and to the world, of the manner and form in which parliament propoſes that they ſhall enjoy the freedom which it communicates. It is an encouragement to the innocent and meritorious, that they, at leaſt, ſhall enjoy thoſe advantages which they patiently expected, rather from the benignity of parliament, than their own efforts. Perſons more contumacious may alſo ſee, that they are reſiſting terms of, perhaps, greater freedom and happineſs, than they are now in arms to obtain. *The glory, the propriety of offered mercy, is neither tarniſhed nor weakened by the folly of thoſe who refuſe to take advantage of it*; and we cannot think that the declaration of independency makes any natural difference in the reaſon and policy of the offer. No prince out of poſſeſſion of his dominions, and become a ſovereign *de jure* only, ever thought it derogatory to his rights, or his intereſt, to hold out to his former ſubjects a diſtinct proſpect of the advantages to be derived from his readmiſſion, and a ſecurity for ſome of the moſt fundamental of thoſe popular privileges, in vindication of which he had been depoſed. On the contrary, ſuch offers have been almoſt uniformly made under ſimilar circumſtances. Beſides, as your majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to declare your intention of reſtoring the people in the colonies to a ſtate of law and liberty, no objection can poſſibly be againſt defining what that law and liberty are, becauſe thoſe who offer, and thoſe who are to receive terms, frequently differ in the objects to which they apply ſuch words. To ſay that we do not know, at this day, what the

the grievances of the colonies are, be they real or pretended, would be unworthy of us; but by waiting, under this pretext, until their grievances are tranſmitted to us by certain commiſſioners, weakens their powers of treaty, and we protract the happy hour of peace by at leaſt two ſuperfluous voyages acroſs the Atlantic. In the mean time, we are waſting the ſubſtance of both countries: we are continuing the effuſion of human, of Chriſtian, of Engliſh blood; a conſideration too ſerious to ſuffer us to trifle, by a pretended ignorance of the origin of this quarrel, and of the meaſure of conceſſion which may be made with the greateſt probability of putting an end to the war. We are ſure that we have your majeſty's heart along with us, when we declare in favor of mixing ſomething conciliatory with our force; and had rather they ſhould yield to well aſcertained, and well authenticated terms of reconciliation, than that your majeſty ſhould owe the recovery of your dominions to their total waſte and deſtruction; or ſuffer difficult queſtions, lying deep in the vital principles of the Britiſh conſtitution, to be ſolved by the coarſe barbariſm, and very unprincipled military conduct of German mercenaries *.

" It is not, ſire, from a want of the moſt inviolable duty to your majeſty,---not from a want of partial and paſſionate regard

* A very juſt deſcription of the proceedings of ſeventeen thouſand Germans, who had been hired by a Britiſh miniſtry in the beginning of the year 1776, to enſlave or murder one hundred and fifty thouſand Britiſh ſubjects! This is what the earl of CHATHAM reproached them with in the moſt pointed language. " You may," ſaid he, " ſwell every expence, and ſtrain every effort, accumulate every aſſiſtance, and extend your traffic to the ſhambles of every German deſpot, your attempts will be for ever vain and impotent—doubly ſo, indeed, from this mercenary aid, on which you rely; for it irritates to an incurable reſentment the minds of your adverſaries, to over-run them with the mercenary ſons of rapine and plunder, devoting them and their poſſeſſions to the rapacity of hireling cruelty.

to

to that part of your empire in which we reſide, and which we wiſh to be ſupreme, that we have hitherto withſtood all attempts to render the ſupremacy of one part of your dominions inconſiſtent with the liberty and ſafety of all the reſt. The motives to our oppoſition are found in thoſe very ſentiments which we are ſuppoſed to violate; for we are convinced, beyond a doubt, that a ſyſtem of dependence, which leaves no ſecurity to the people for any part of their freedom in their own hands, cannot be eſtabliſhed in any member of the Britiſh empire, without conſequently deſtroying the freedom of that very body, in favor of whoſe boundleſs pretenſions ſuch a ſcheme is adopted. We know and feel that arbitrary power over diſtant regions is not within the competence, nor to be carried on agreeably to the forms, or conſiſtently with the ſpirit of great popular aſſemblies. *If ſuch aſſemblies are called to a ſhare in the exerciſe of ſuch power, in order to ſcreen, under general participation, the guilt of deſperate meaſures, it tends only the more deeply to corrupt the deliberative character of thoſe aſſemblies,* by habituating them to blind obedience, by rendering them executive inſtruments in deſigns the bottom of which they cannot fathom, and uſing them to proceeding upon grounds of fact, with which they can rarely be ſufficiently acquainted. To leave any real freedom to parliament, much muſt be left to the colonies. *Military power is the only ſubſtitute for civil liberty. That the eſtabliſhment of ſuch a power will exhauſt our finances, though a certain effect, is the leaſt of our apprehenſions. It will become an apt inſtrument of deſtroying our freedom.* Great forces of armed men, kept up for the purpoſe of trampling on the expreſs image of Engliſh privileges, will come rather to hate the principles they oppreſs, than to make diſtinctions among thoſe who adhere to

it*. All our troops, in the rotation of ſervice, will paſs through this diſcipline, and muſt contract theſe habits. We deprecate the conſequences. We deprecate the effect of the doctrines which muſt ſupport and countenance the government over conquered Engliſhmen. It will be impoſſible long to reſiſt the powerful and equitable arguments in favor of the freedom of theſe unhappy people, to be drawn from the principle of our own liberty. Attempts will be made, attempts have been made, to ridicule and to argue away this principle, and to inculcate into the minds of your people other maxims of government, and other grounds of obedience than thoſe which have prevailed at and ſince the glorious revolution. By degrees, theſe doctrines, by being convenient, may grow prevalent: the conſequence is not certain; but a general change of principles rarely happens among a people, without leading to a change of government.

" *Sire, your throne cannot ſtand ſecure upon the principles of unconditional ſubmiſſion, or paſſive obedience,---on powers exerciſed without the concurrence of the people to be governed,---on acts made in defiance of their prejudices and habits,---on acquieſcence procured by foreign mercenary troops, and ſecured by ſtanding armies. They may poſſibly be the foundation of other thrones;---they muſt be the ſubverſion of your's.*

" *It was not to paſſive principles in our anceſtors that we owe the honour of appearing before a ſovereign, who cannot feel that he is a prince, without knowing that we ought to be free. The revolution is a departure from the ancient courſe of the deſcent of this monarchy. The people re-entered into their original rights; and it was not becauſe a poſitive law authorized the act, but becauſe the freedom and ſafety of the ſubject, the origin and cauſe of all laws, required a pro-*

* i. e. to the expreſs image of Britiſh privileges.

ceeding

ceeding paramount and ſuperior to them. At that ever-memorable and inſtructive period, the letter of the law was ſuperſeded in favor of the ſubſtance of liberty. To the free choice, therefore, of the people, without either king or parliament, we owe that happy eſtabliſhment of which both king and parliament were regenerated.*

" From that great principle of liberty theſe ſtatutes have originated which have confirmed and ratified that eſtabliſhment, from which your majeſty derives your right to rule over us. *Theſe ſtatutes have not given us our liberties;---our liberties have produced them.* Every hour of your majeſty's reign, your title ſtands upon the very ſame foundation on which it was at firſt laid; and we do not know a better on which it can poſſibly be placed. Convinced that you cannot have different rights, and different ſecurity in different parts of your dominions, we wiſh to lay an even platform for your throne, and to give it an immoveable ſtability, by laying it on the general freedom of your people, and by ſecuring equally to your majeſty that confidence and affection in all parts of your dominions, which makes your beſt ſecurity and deareſt title in this chief ſeat of your empire.

" Such, ſire, being amongſt us the foundation of the monarchy itſelf, much more clearly and peculiarly is it the ground of all parliamentary power. *Parliament is a ſecurity provided for the protection of freedom, and not a ſubtle fiction contrived to amuſe the people in its place;* and the authority of both houſes can ſtill leſs than that of the crown be ſupported upon different principles, or different places, ſo as to be for one part of your ſubjects a protector of liberty, and for another a fund of deſpotiſm, by which prerogative is extended by occaſional powers,

* We ſhall have occaſion to contraſt theſe articles of conſtitutional faith with the creed of apoſtacy publiſhed by Mr. BURKE in the year 1790.

whenever an arbitrary will finds itſelf ſtreightened by the reſtrictions of law. Had it ſeemed good to parliament to conſider itſelf as the indulgent guardian and ſtrong protector of the freedom of the ſubordinate popular aſſemblies, inſtead of exerciſing its powers to their utter annihilation, there is no doubt that it never could be their inclination, becauſe not their intereſt, to have raiſed captious queſtions on its extent, or to have enfeebled privileges which were the ſecurity of their own. Powers evident from neceſſity, and not ſuſpicious from an alarming mode or purpoſe of application, would, as formerly they were, be chearfully ſubmitted to; and theſe would have been fully ſufficient for the conſervation of unity in the empire, and for directing its wealth to one common center. Another uſe has produced other conſequences; and a power which refuſes to be limited by its own moderation muſt either be loſt, or find other more diſtinct and ſatisfactory limitations. As for us, a participation in arbitrary power would never reconcile our minds to it. We ſhould be aſhamed to ſtand before your majeſty boldly aſſerting inherent rights which bind and regulate the crown itſelf, and yet inſiſting on the exerciſe in our own perſons of a more arbitrary ſway over our fellow citizens and fellow freemen.

" Theſe, moſt gracious ſovereign, are our ſentiments on this moſt important ſubject, on this moſt critical of all occaſions. Whenever the day ſhall arrive which promiſes the leaſt diſpoſition to act on theſe principles, we ſhall attend to ſupport and perfect correſpondent meaſures, with the ſame clear intentions with which we formerly attended to oppoſe thoſe of a contrary tendency, or as we now relax our attendance from a dread of countenancing, by a falſe appearance of a free diſcuſſion, proceedings fatal to the liberty and unity of the empire,

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which exhauſt the ſtrength of all your majeſty's dominions, and leave us expoſed to the ſuſpicious mercy and uncertain politics of our neighbour and rival powers. If this ſhould not happen, we have the ſatisfaction at leaſt to give a faithful warning to your majeſty of thoſe evils; and, however few in number, or overborne by the prevalence of corrupt practices, or the miſguided zeal of arbitrary factions, to ſtand forth and rear our names in aſſertion of thoſe principles whoſe operations have in better times made of your majeſty a great prince, of the Britiſh dominions a mighty empire."

All Mr. BURKE's endeavours to inſpire the different members of the oppoſition with unanimity proved ineffectual. They diſcovered on this, as on many other occaſions, not only great difference of opinion, but much perſonal and party diſlike to each other. When he found that nothing could induce them to ſecede collectively and join in this addreſs to the king, he took another method of laying the ſame ſentiments before the nation, but in bolder language, becauſe unchecked by the obſervance of forms, or the ſhew of reſpect which it was neceſſary to keep up in an application to the throne. On the third of April 1777, he wrote a letter to the ſheriffs of Briſtol, permitting them to communicate it in any manner they might think proper to his conſtituents. It was printed, and contained the ſubſtance of the addreſs with an infuſion of ſtronger ſpirit, an apology for the partial ſeceſſion, and ſome very ſevere, yet very juſt ſtrictures on two new acts which had been lately added to the ſcheme of legiſlative tyranny reſpecting America. The object of the one was to enable the admiralty to grant commiſſions, or letters of marque, as they are uſually called, to the owners or captains of private merchant-ſhips, authorizing them to make

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prizes of all veſſels belonging to the thirteen revolted colonies. Reprehenſible as Mr. BURKE thought this act in ſome particulars, he declined ſaying much of it, as it ſeemed to be the natural reſult of former meaſures. But the other act appeared to him of a much deeper malignity, and contrived for purpoſes repugnant to all principles, not only of the conſtitutional policy of Great Britain, but even of that ſpecies of hoſtile juſtice, which no aſperity of war wholly extinguiſhes in the minds of a civilized people. It enabled adminiſtration to ſecure and detain perſons charged with, or ſuſpected of, the crime of high treaſon, committed in America or on the high ſeas, or the crime of piracy. An act had been made in the reign of HENRY VIII. before the exiſtence or thought of any Engliſh colonies in America, for the trial in this kingdom of treaſons committed out of the realm. To have recourſe to ſuch an act now was to take away from the ſubject in the colonies all that was ſubſtantial and beneficial in a trial by jury: it was, in effect, to condemn him unheard. "A perſon," ſaid Mr. BURKE, "is brought hither in the dungeon of a ſhip's hold: thence he is vomited into a dungeon on land; loaded with irons, unfurniſhed with money, unſupported by friends, three thouſand miles from all means of calling upon or confronting evidence, where no one local circumſtance that tends to detect perjury, can poſſibly be judged of;---ſuch a perſon may be executed according to form, but he can never be tried according to juſtice. * * * If the bloody fields, which the Americans have ſeen and felt, are not ſufficient to ſubdue their reaſon, it is not the judicial ſlaughter, which may be made in another hemiſphere, againſt their univerſal ſenſe of juſtice, that will ever reconcile them to the Britiſh government."

As to that part of the act which related to piracy, Mr. BURKE obſerves, that it did not fairly deſcribe its object: the perſons who made a naval war upon us, in conſequence of the late diſputes, might be *rebels*; but to call and treat them as *pirates* was confounding not only the natural diſtinction of things, but the order of crimes; which, whether by putting them from the higher part of the ſcale to the lower, or from the lower to the higher, was never done without dangerouſly diſordering the whole frame of juriſprudence. "Though piracy," he adds, "may be, in the eye of the law, a *leſs* offence than treaſon; yet as both are, in effect, puniſhed with the ſame death, the ſame forfeiture, and the ſame corruption of blood, I never would take from any fellow-creature whatever, any ſort of advantage which he may derive to his ſafety from the pity of mankind, or to his reputation from their general feelings, by degrading his offence, when I cannot ſoften his puniſhment. * * * Beſides, I could not vote for, or countenance in any way, a ſtatute, which ſtigmatizes with the crime of piracy, theſe men, whom an act of parliament had previouſly put out of the protection of the law. When the legiſlature of this kingdom had ordered all their ſhips and goods, for the mere new-created offence of exerciſing trade, to be divided as a ſpoil among the ſeamen of the navy,---to conſider the neceſſary reprizal of an unhappy, proſcribed, interdicted people, as the crime of piracy, would have appeared, in any other legiſlature than ours, a ſtrain of the moſt inſulting and moſt unnatural cruelty and injuſtice."

Many other arguments are urged by Mr. BURKE againſt the new law, as being a partial and moſt alarming ſuſpenſion of the *habeas corpus* act. He then paſſes to his apology for not having joined Mr. DUNNING and a few more of the minority in their reſiſtance

reſiſtance to ſo unconſtitutional a meaſure. "I have not debated," ſays he, "againſt this bill in its progreſs through the houſe; becauſe it would have been vain to oppoſe, and impoſſible to correct it. It is ſome time ſince I have been clearly convinced, that in the preſent ſtate of things, all oppoſition to any meaſures propoſed by miniſters, where the name of America appears, is vain and frivolous. You may be ſure, that I do not ſpeak of my oppoſition, which in all circumſtances muſt be ſo; but that of men of the greateſt wiſdom and authority in the nation. Every thing propoſed againſt America is ſuppoſed of courſe to be in favor of Great Britain. Good and ill-ſucceſs are equally admitted as reaſons for perſevering in the preſent methods. Several very prudent, and very well-intentioned perſons were of opinion, that during the prevalence of ſuch diſpoſitions, all ſtruggle rather inflamed than leſſened the diſtemper of the public counſels. Finding ſuch reſiſtance to be conſidered as factious by moſt within doors, and by very many without, I cannot conſcientiouſly ſupport what is againſt my opinion, nor prudently contend with what I know is irreſiſtible. Preſerving my principles unſhaken, I reſerve my activity for rational endeavours; and I hope that my paſt conduct has given ſufficient evidence, that if I am a ſingle day from my place, it is not owing to indolence or love of diſſipation. The ſlighteſt hope of doing good is ſufficient to recal me to what I quitted with regret. In declining for ſome time my uſual ſtrict attendance, I do not in the leaſt condemn the ſpirit of thoſe gentlemen, who with a juſt confidence in their abilities, (in which I claim a ſort of ſhare from my love and admiration of them) were of opinion, that their exertions in this deſperate caſe might be of ſome ſervice. They thought that, by contracting the ſphere of its application, they might leſſen the malignity of an evil princi-

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ple*. Perhaps they were in the right. But when my opinion was ſo very clearly to the contrary for the reaſons I have juſt ſtated, I am ſure my attendance muſt be ridiculous. I muſt add, in further explanation of my conduct, that far from ſoftening the features of ſuch a principle, and thereby removing any part of the popular odium or natural terrors attending it, I ſhould be very ſorry, that any thing framed in contradiction to the ſpirit of the conſtitution did not inſtantly produce, in fact, the groſſeſt of the evils with which it was pregnant in its nature. *It is by lying dormant a long time, or being at firſt very rarely exerciſed, that arbitrary power ſteals upon a people.* On the next unconſtitutional act, all the faſhionable world will be ready to ſay---Your prophecies are ridiculous; your fears are vain; you ſee how little of the miſchiefs which you formerly foreboded are come to paſs. *Thus, by degrees, that artful ſoftening of all arbitrary power, the alledged infrequency or narrow extent of its operation, will be received as a ſort of aphoriſm;---and Mr.* HUME *will not be ſingular in telling us, that the felicity of mankind is no more diſturbed by it, than by earthquakes, or thunder, or the other more unuſual accidents of nature.*"

This part of Mr. BURKE's letter prompted the earl of ABINGDON to write and publiſh a pamphlet, in which he condemned in very warm terms a partial ſeceſſion, and defended the conduct of thoſe members of the minority who had not withdrawn from

* This was the object aimed at in two amendments, which thoſe gentlemen propoſed, and which were adopted. In one the crime of piracy was defined, by declaring, "that nothing ſhould be deemed ſo but acts of felony committed on the ſhips or goods of the ſubject on the high ſeas:" the other, which was moved by Mr. DUNNING, after ſome alteration, ſtood thus; "Provided alſo, and be it hereby declared, that nothing herein contained is intended, or ſhall be conſtrued, to extend to the caſe of any other priſoner, or priſoners, than ſuch as have been out of the realm, at the time or times of the offence or offences, wherewith he or they ſhall be charged, or of which they ſhall be ſuſpected."

parliament, but had perſevered in their oppoſition to every arbitrary meaſure, and by that perſeverance had obtained thoſe amendments of the treaſon and piracy act which are ſpecified in the preceding note. He himſelf was the only peer in the minority who attended its progreſs through the houſe of lords, and entered his proteſt on the journals. Mr. BURKE made no reply; but it appears from the earl's public avowal of his own feelings, that Mr. BURKE's ſilence upon that and ſeveral other occaſions was more mortifying to his lordſhip than the keeneſt ſtings of that gentleman's wit or ridicule.

In a few days after the date of the above letter, Mr. BURKE and his friends were ſummoned to their duty, by a meſſage from the throne, ſtating the difficulties his majeſty laboured under from the civil liſt debt, which amounted to upwards of ſix hundred thouſand pounds; and expreſſing his reliance on the loyalty and affection of his faithful commons for enabling him to diſcharge this debt, and that they would at the ſame time make ſome future proviſion for the better ſupport of his houſhold, and of the honour and dignity of the crown. On the ſixteenth of April, the day appointed for referring the meſſage to the conſideration of a committee of ſupply, lord JOHN CAVENDISH moved, that the order of reference be diſcharged. Then, inſtead of carrying the queſtion directly into the committee of ſupply, to be determined by a raſh and inconſiderate vote, the accounts of the expenditure, the cauſes of the exceſs, the means of preventing it in future, and the propriety of complying in the whole or in part with the requiſitions, muſt have been accurately examined, and duly diſcuſſed in a committee of the whole houſe. Mr. BURKE did not ſhew much tenderneſs, either to the king, or his miniſters, upon this occaſion. He reprobated in the moſt indignant terms the indecency and impropriety

propriety of bringing in ſuch a demand, in ſuch a ſeaſon of public calamity and danger. Nothing, he aſſerted, but a confidence in the ſervility, and an experience in the careleſsneſs of the public intereſts, which were now prevalent, could have encouraged the miniſters to hazard ſo deſperate a meaſure. "They have," ſaid he, "plunged us into a dreadful war, which has already coſt the nation twenty millions of money: they have ſevered the empire, deſtroyed our commerce, ſunk the revenue, and given a mortal blow to public credit: we have loſt thirteen flouriſhing and growing provinces, ſome of which were already, in point of importance, if not of power, nearly equal to ancient kingdoms; and were now engaged in a deſtructive and hopeleſs attempt, to recover by force, what our folly and violence have loſt. Is this then a ſeaſon, when we ſhall be under a neceſſity of taxing every gentleman's houſe in England, even to the ſmalleſt domeſtic accommodation, and to accumulate burthen upon burthen on a people already ſinking under their load, to come and tell us, that we have not hitherto made a proviſion for the crown adequate to its grandeur, and that we muſt now find new funds for the increaſe of its ſplendor? Is the real luſtre, which it has unhappily loſt, to be ſupplied by the falſe glare of profuſion? and the oſtenſive expences of government, to increaſe in a due proportion to its poverty and weakneſs? It will be a new diſcovery in the policy of nations, that the only means of replacing the loſs of half an empire, is by the boundleſs prodigality of the remainder!" Then viewing the ſubject in another light, he aſked, what proofs had been given of the inadequacy of the former proviſion? A large debt had been incurred, and had alſo been paid off by a vote of the houſe in 1769; but was the accumulation of a new debt,---was a man's extravagance to become the meaſure of his ſupply? In order to know

whether the royal dignity might have been kept up for eight hundred thouſand pounds a year, or whether its acknowledged want of ſplendor and magnificence was not more owing to the miſmanagement than to the ſcantineſs of the ſupply, it would be proper to ſee how other kings had maintained their dignity;---what their charge, and what their revenues were. After a comparative view of the income and ſtile of living of king WILLIAM, of king GEORGE II. and of his preſent majeſty, Mr. BURKE concluded, that the debt incurred could not be for the royal dignity, but in ways not fit to be avowed by miniſtry, and therefore very fit to be enquired into by the houſe. The majority thought otherwiſe, there being 281 voices for rejecting the motion, againſt 114 in its favor.

After this diviſion, the houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee of ſupply, and paſſed two reſolutions to the following purport; viz. "that the ſum of ſix hundred and eighteen thouſand, three hundred and forty pounds ſhould be granted to enable his majeſty to diſcharge the debts on the civil liſt; and that the ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds per annum, over and above the ſum of eight hundred thouſand pounds, be granted, as a further proviſion for the better ſupport of his majeſty's houſhold, and of the honour and dignity of the crown." Mr. BURKE and all his party made an honourable and vigorous, though ineffectual ſtand againſt theſe reſolutions. Their oppoſition, they ſaid, was founded upon the pureſt principles of patriotiſm, which equally included a due attention to the ability, the burthens, and the proſperity of the people, with the moſt perfect and liberal regard for the honour, happineſs, and real intereſts of the ſovereign. But they contended, that a compliance with the preſent application, in the extent and manner which was ſought by the miniſters and their adherents,

adherents, would be equally an act of treachery to the prince and to the people, and a moſt ſhameful ſacrifice of their reſpective intereſts. For, whilſt they lamented the diſtreſſes to which the ſovereign had been reduced, the miſery thereby brought upon great numbers of individuals, and the circumſtances of degradation attending ſo unhappy a ſituation, they charged all theſe miſchiefs to the unbounded and ſcandalous profuſion of the miniſters, and inſiſted, without reſerve, or admitting of a doubt, that the preſent revenue was not only fully ſufficient to anſwer all the fair and honeſt purpoſes of government under the reſtriction of a prudent œconomy, but abundantly to ſupport the grandeur, ſplendor, and magnificence of the crown, in a manner equal to its own dignity, and to the greatneſs even of this nation in its happieſt æra. But inſtead of being dedicated to theſe royal and national objects, for which it had been granted, it was applied, they ſaid, to the moſt fatal purpoſes, whilſt a great monarch was reduced to ſtraits which would have been diſgraceful to a private gentleman, and the luſtre of the crown was obſcured and tarniſhed, in a manner before unknown in this country. They farther obſerved, that it was too manifeſt to admit of any diſcuſſion, that the debt had been incurred in carrying on and ſupporting a ſyſtem of corruption; that there was no man of any party, who was at all acquainted with public affairs, who had not an internal conviction, that the royal revenues were ſquandered in obtaining that baneful and unbounded influence, which ſwept every thing before it;---which had already brought the nation to the brink of ruin;---and which had deprived us in very great meaſure of all the benefits derived from a limited government. It was true, that the conſtitution was not now alarmed as heretofore, by the harſh and ſtern voice of prerogative; but the danger was much greater;---the foe

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was covert, ſilent, and inſidious ;---and his operations, though ſlower, were much more certain. They were therefore called upon, they added, by their allegiance as well as their patriotiſm, by every tie of public and private duty, by a due attention to appearances, as well as to the preſervation of their integrity, to their perſonal honour as men, and their aggregate, as bodies of the legiſlature, to reſtrain, inſtead of augmenting the means of corruption, and to prevent miniſters, under any name, or any pretence, from obtaining the diſpoſal of ſuch a permanent revenue, as would render them either independent of parliament, or, (which would be equally pernicious) enable them to eſtabliſh ſuch an influence, as might virtually preſcribe its duties or controul its operations.

Such is Mr. BURKE's report of the principal arguments made uſe of by himſelf and his friends upon that occaſion. But their reaſoning was of little avail when oppoſed to the corruption which they had ſo juſtly deſcribed. When the report was brought up from the committee of ſupply, on the eighteenth of April, the firſt reſolution, to diſcharge the arrears and debts owing on the civil liſt, was agreed to without a diviſion; and though the houſe did divide upon the report of the ſecond reſolution for the annual increaſe of the royal income, the ayes were 231 againſt 109.

A very ſingular circumſtance attended the preſenting of the bill, founded on thoſe reſolutions, to receive the royal aſſent. When ſir FLETCHER NORTON, the ſpeaker, went up with it, according to the uſual forms, to the bar of the houſe of lords, he thus addreſſed the throne:

"Moſt gracious ſovereign,

"The bill, which it is now my duty to preſent to your majeſty, is intituled, *An act for the better ſupport of his majeſty's houſehold,*

hold, and of the honour and dignity of the crown of Great Britain, to which your commons humbly beg your royal aſſent. By this bill, ſir, and the reſpectful circumſtances which preceded and accompanied it, your commons have given the fulleſt and cleareſt proof of their zeal and affection for your majeſty. For in a time of public diſtreſs, full of difficulty and danger, their conſtituents labouring under burthens almoſt too heavy to be borne, your faithful commons poſtponed all other buſineſs; and, with as much diſpatch as the nature of their proceedings would admit, have not only granted to your majeſty a large preſent ſupply, but alſo a very great additional revenue;---great beyond example;--great beyond your majeſty's higheſt expence. But all this, ſir, they have done in a well-grounded confidence, that you will apply wiſely what they have granted liberally; and feeling, what every good ſubject muſt feel with the greateſt ſatisfaction, that, under the direction of your majeſty's wiſdom, the affluence and grandeur of the ſovereign will reflect dignity and honour upon his people."

On the return of the ſpeaker and of the members who accompanied him, he received the thanks of the houſe for his ſpeech, attended with the uſual compliment of deſiring that it might be printed. But it galled the court cabal very ſorely to find that a ſpeaker of the houſe of commons ſhould dare to utter ſuch bold truths in a public addreſs to his ſovereign. Two days after, the paymaſter of the forces, Mr. RIGBY, one of the moſt ſhameleſs of the gang, arraigned the conduct of the ſpeaker with great acrimony. He had the impudence to tell the houſe, "that the national ſituation had been groſsly miſrepreſented in a place where nothing but truth ſhould be heard;---that the ſentiments declared at the bar of the other houſe to be thoſe of the commons, were the direct reverſe;---that for one, he totally diſclaimed them;---that he

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was certain a very great majority of the houſe equally did ſo;--- and that, before the houſe roſe, he truſted it would be proved, whether they thought with the chair, or with him." But the indecency of the proceeding was too flagrant to ſucceed even in the very centre of corruption and ſervility. The commons were pledged by their former vote to ſupport the chair; and they could not, without incurring the reproach of the moſt diſgraceful inconſiſtency, undo and reprobate on the Friday, thoſe acts which they had done or applauded on the preceding Wedneſday. This point was ſtrongly urged by Mr. Fox, and by the ſpeaker himſelf, who ſaid, "that he would ſit no longer in the chair than he was ſupported in the free exerciſe of his duty; and, from the vote of approbation, with which he had been honoured, he had reaſon to believe, he was not chargeable with any miſrepreſentation." A remark made by Mr. DUNNING diſconcerted the moſt reſolute of the miniſterial hirelings, and made them eager to prevent, if poſſible, the matter from being brought to a queſtion. He ſaid, "the dignity of the houſe was gone, if the chair was permitted to be degraded. It was plain the blow was ultimately aimed at the houſe through the chair; and the preſent was an experiment, made purely with a view to ſee to what pitch of humiliation and diſgrace the houſe would bear to be humbled and let down. It was, in fact, an attempt of a court faction, to render the repreſentatives of the people deſpicable, as well as deteſtable, in the eyes of their conſtituents." This naked view of the ſubject made a ſtrong impreſſion on the minds of thoſe who were not callous to every ſenſe both of fear and ſhame; and, after an awkward ſtruggle on the part of a few of the cabal, a motion, which had been made by Mr. Fox, was agreed to without a diviſion,

a diviſion, confirming the former vote, and explicitly declaring, "that the ſpeaker, in his ſpeech to the king at the bar of the houſe of peers, did expreſs with juſt and proper energy, the zeal of the commons for the ſupport of the honour and dignity of the crown, in circumſtances of great public charge."

About a fortnight after [May 22] a late tranſaction of a very extraordinary nature in the Eaſt Indies became the ſubject of parliamentary debate, and ſerves to throw ſome light on the firſt cauſe of Mr. BURKE's deteſtation of Mr. HASTINGS. In conſequence of ſome conteſted accounts between the rajah of Tanjore and the nabob of Arcot, the latter, who had acquired an overruling, if not boundleſs influence in the council at Madras, obtained a deciſion not only in favor of his claims, but in ſupport of a war which was declared to enforce them. The rajah was little able to withſtand the united force of the company and the nabob. His capital being taken after a brave defence, the unhappy prince was ſtripped, without pity or remorſe, of every thing but life. His kingdom was ſeized by the nabob; his treaſures were applied to the expences of the war and the purpoſes of corruption; whilſt his ſubjects, who were among the moſt induſtrious people in India, experienced all the cruelty and rapacity of a Mahometan conqueſt and government. The account of this proceeding, with all the circumſtances of the ſpoil and ruin of a friend and ally in ſo unexampled a manner, excited the juſt indignation of the company in England. That viſible aſcendency over the counſels and actions of their ſervants, of which the nabob had now given a very dangerous proof, was another alarming conſideration. Good policy, therefore, as well as juſtice, pointed out the propriety of ſetting ſome bounds to his ambitious career, by reſtoring the rajah to his dominions.

The company, at the ſame time, were far from wiſhing to fall out with the nabob, if it could be avoided; nor were they diſpoſed to urge matters to any extremity with their ſervants for what was paſt. A reparation of the outrage and wrong ſeemed likely to anſwer every purpoſe; but it was apprehended that a vigorous proſecution of the delinquents would involve the company's affairs in the utmoſt perplexity. In order to execute ſo delicate a commiſſion with equal prudence, ſafety, and honour, it was reſolved to ſend out lord PIGOT, as governor and preſident of Madras, the company very reaſonably ſuppoſing, that the appearance of ſuch a man upon that ground which had been the ſcene of his former power and glory, where his name and actions were ſtill freſh and alive, and where the principal and moſt dangerous party was little more than the creature of his own making, would have been attended with eminent advantages; and that he might have performed thoſe acts without envy or jealouſy, which would have been oppoſed or reſented in other hands.

The time that unavoidably elapſed before lord PIGOT's arrival in his government, afforded a full ſcope for the exerciſe of the nabob's ability in intrigue. Though the part already taken by the council would neceſſarily influence their conduct in endeavouring to ſupport or confirm their own former act, he thought it prudent to intereſt them ſtill more deeply in the meaſure of ſecuring to him the perpetual poſſeſſion of Tanjore. He accordingly borrowed vaſt ſums of money from ſeveral members of the council, and ſome others whoſe weight and concurrence might be requiſite for the completion of his ſcheme; and directly or indirectly mortgaged to them the revenues of Tanjore, as a ſecurity both for the principal, and for a prodigious intereſt

intereſt ariſing on it, which amounted annually to near one third of the original debt. Lord PIGOT did not reach Madras till the latter end of the year 1775; but notwithſtanding the previous meaſures which had been taken, and the violent oppoſition he experienced, he ſucceeded ſo far as to reſtore the rajah to the juſt poſſeſſion of his ancient and hereditary dominions. His lordſhip had now to encounter the mortal enmity of the nabob, and a corrupt combination of the majority of the council, who were farther ſtrengthened by the dangerous power lodged in the hands of the commander in chief of the forces. The diſputes grew hotter from day to day, and the cabals with the nabob grew cloſer and cloſer. It was of the greateſt moment to ſend a proper officer to Tanjore. The oppoſition part of the council at firſt agreed with the governor on the meaſure, and deſignation of the perſon. They ſoon changed their minds about the latter, and inſiſted, that being the majority of the council, they had a right to do every thing, regardleſs of the governor's opinion or diſſent. Lord PIGOT, finding them actuated by no other principle than that of traverſing all his endeavours for carrying the orders of the company into execution, took a very bold ſtep, for which nothing but the exigency of the moment could afford any excuſe; and having put the queſtion, carried the ſuſpenſion of two of the council by his own caſting vote. He alſo put ſir ROBERT FLETCHER, the commander in chief of the forces, under an arreſt for diſobedience of his ſupreme authority in the fortreſs.

Inſtead of waiting the deciſion of the company on theſe meaſures, a plot was formed by the offended party for ſeizing the perſon of the preſident, and for effecting a complete revolution in their own favor. In conſequence of the arreſt laid upon ſir

ROBERT FLETCHER, colonel STUART ſucceeded to the command of the forces. Though this gentleman was in the higheſt ſtate of intimacy and friendſhip with lord PIGOT, he notwithſtanding entered deeply into the views of the conſpirators; and as any military violence offered to the governor within the precincts of the fortreſs would involve the actors in the penalties of the mutiny laws, the colonel inveigled him to quit the only ſituation which could afford him ſecurity. Having, on the twenty-third of Auguſt, 1776, ſpent the forepart of the day with his lordſhip, he took occaſion from the exceſſive heat of the weather to recommend in the evening a cool retreat to a villa at a ſmall diſtance from Madras, appropriated to the uſe of the governors; and made an offer of his own company, as a further inducement. In the way, they were ſurrounded, as had been concerted, by an officer and party of ſeapoys, both in the company's ſervice; and the governor, under the auſpices and immediate hands of his late companion and gueſt, was thruſt out of his chaiſe, with circumſtances of not leſs rudeneſs than violence, and carried priſoner to a place called *the Mount*, where he was confined under a ſtrong military guard. His enemies now ſeized all the powers of government, appointing their principal leader to be his ſucceſſor, and copying the very act on which their cruel complaints were founded, by removing from the council ſuch members as had voted with him in the former ſtruggle.

Both parties ſent confidential perſons as expreſſes to England, the one to arraign, and the other to juſtify the late proceedings. Even the nabob had an agent in London, a colonel MACLEANE, who acted in the ſame capacity for Mr. HASTINGS alſo, this gentleman having made himſelf in ſome meaſure a party with the nabob, by not only conniving at, but giving the moſt deciſive ſanction.

ſanction to, the iniquitous enterprize againſt the rajah, and the equally reprehenſible intrigues, treachery, and violence of the uſurpers at Madras. Mr. MACLEANE was well qualified for the buſineſs intruſted to his care, having been under ſecretary to the earl of SHELBURNE, while his lordſhip remained in office. It may be preſumed that ſo expert an agent left no means untried to ſecure effectual ſupport both at the India houſe and in parliament; but in ſpite of all his addreſs,---in ſpite of all the efforts of corruption, ſo great was the indignation of the company in general at the conduct of the conſpirators, that when the whole buſineſs was formally laid before the proprietors at their quarterly court, on the twenty-ſixth of March, 1777, they agreed to a reſolution, which was afterwards confirmed on a ballot by a majority of 382 to 140, recommending to the court of directors, "to take the moſt effectual meaſures for reſtoring lord PIGOT to the full exerciſe of the powers veſted in him by the company;---and for inquiring into the conduct of the principal actors in his impriſonment." Though ſeveral of the directors had been gained over to the oppoſite intereſt, they could not avoid acting in ſeeming conformity to this recommendation, while they were ſecretly determined to render it nugatory. Several reſolutions were accordingly paſſed at a court held the eleventh of April, by which lord PIGOT was reſtored to the full exerciſe of the office and powers, from which he had been degraded; his four friends, who had been driven from their ſeats, were re-inſtated; and the ſeven members of the council, including the commander in chief, were ſuſpended from the company's ſervice: but to theſe was added a vote of cenſure on lord PIGOT's conduct; and while inſtructions were preparing to accompany the reſolutions, every poſſible impediment was thrown in the way to retard or embarraſs the buſineſs.

neſs. The main ſubject appeared to be almoſt forgotten in a variety of other diſputes. At length, under the impoſing ſhew of an attempt to pleaſe all parties, to reconcile all differences, and to adminiſter impartial juſtice, three new reſolutions were propoſed; and, to the aſtoniſhment of every body who did not know the extraordinary means ſecretly made uſe of to bring together perſons from the moſt diſtant parts of the kingdom, from Newcaſtle, Liverpool, Briſtol, from the dock-yards of Portſmouth, Chatham, and Plymouth, for the purpoſe of voting in Leadenhall-ſtreet, the queſtion in favor of the new reſolutions was carried, at another general court of the proprietors on the ninth of May, by a majority of 414 to 317. By the firſt of theſe reſolutions, after reprobating the treatment which lord PIGOT had met with, and affording him the mockery of a temporary reſtitution to his government, without any power of acting in it, he was ordered immediately home, for an inquiry into his conduct: by the ſecond, his friends in the council were ordered home: and by the third, the whole body of his enemies were likewiſe recalled.

Such glaring inconſiſtency in the proceedings at the India-houſe prompted governor JOHNSTONE to bring the matter before parliament on the twenty-ſecond of the ſame month, and to move for ſeveral reſolutions, which went to a ſtrong approbation of lord PIGOT's conduct; to a confirmation of thoſe acts of the company that had been either paſſed in his favor, or in condemnation of the factious party at Madras; and to annul the late incongruous reſolution for his recall. On theſe, if carried, the mover intended to found a bill for better ſecuring the Engliſh ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies. The motion was oppoſed by the friends of adminiſtration, though moſt of the principals were abſent, perhaps from an unwillingneſs to take any ſhare in the debate. Mr. THURLOW, then

then attorney-general, was ſaid to be ill; Mr. WEDDERBURNE, the ſolicitor-general, did not chuſe to attend; and the whole merit of exertion in the ſupport of the abſurd and venal reſolution of the court of proprietors was conſigned to lord NORTH, to Mr. DUNDAS, the lord advocate for Scotland, and to one or two of the India directors. All the force of argument, all the powers of eloquence ſeemed to be confined to the ſpeakers of the minority on this occaſion. Mr. Fox, in particular, excited ſuch ſudden, ſuch involuntary burſts of applauſe, as had never before been heard in a Britiſh houſe of commons. Mr. BURKE had been twice upon his legs, but gave way in the firſt inſtance to general CONWAY; and was going to relinquiſh his turn a ſecond time, when he ſaw Mr. WOMBWELL, then chairman of the Eaſt India company, riſe. On perceiving, however, that this gentleman, inſtead of communicating any new information on the ſubject, only propoſed to read papers which were open to the general peruſal of every member preſent, Mr. BURKE urged his plea for being heard in preference to the reading of ſuch papers; but added, "as the honourable gentleman is in poſſeſſion, I ſuppoſe I muſt give up my right. Yet, permit me to inform him, that, if he intends by ſuch means to tire and thin the houſe, I am, for my part, contented to wait till all the heavy folios now lying on the table are read through; and, to prepare myſelf for the taſk, I ſhall ſend for my night-cap." Here a cry of *go on*, *go on*, encouraged Mr. Burke to proceed with remarking, that he never heard of ſo extraordinary a ſpecies of proof, as what was now produced by the honourable gentleman who moved for the reading of the papers. "That gentleman," ſaid Mr. BURKE, "aſſerted a fact of lord PIGOT's ill treatment of the council; and, in order to prove it, he reads a letter from one of the council, that is from the

the party, which is another aſſertion of the ſame thing. There's proof for you! But it may be complete and ſubſtantial, according to the idea which he recommends to the great body he is at the head of. However, what the gentleman thinks, or what he ſo proves, is of very little conſequence in this buſineſs."

Mr. BURKE now turned from the examination of Mr. WOMBWELL's proofs to a refutation of Mr. DUNDAS's arguments, of which the leading one was, *that the whole body ought to be recalled, becauſe factions had broken out among them.* Such an argument Mr. BURKE regarded as the moſt frivolous imaginable. "Were this," ſaid he, "to be adopted as a rule of conduct, which it muſt be, as the argument clearly goes to that, all governors and their councils muſt be recalled as ſoon as factions break out, which would be prepoſterous. If this mode of reaſoning is good, the governor-general of Bengal, and his council ſhould be recalled, ſince there are the moſt outrageous factions among them,---accuſing each other of the moſt enormous crimes. Why not recall them? The honourable gentleman knows better; for Mr. HASTINGS has the nabob of ARCOT for his friend,---a moſt powerful friend in the court and miniſtry of England,—ſo powerful, that for myſelf, if I wanted any favor of great magnitude, I know of no canvaſſer I ſhould ſo much wiſh for. This ſame prince of the Carnatic, who, it is plain, will ſoon be our maſter in all thoſe territories, will be delighted to hear the doctrine laid down by the learned gentleman, that governors, &c. are to be recalled when factions ariſe in their councils; for he will never find the leaſt difficulty in bribing a majority, the moment a governor is hardy enough to oppoſe his will. The nabob's treaſures will ſecure factions, and factions will ſecure the governor's recall; which muſt be a very pretty ſituation for any governor or council

to

to be in. The learned gentleman's other argument againſt reſtoring lord PIGOT, *for fear of his revenge*, is of the ſame complexion. It is ſurprizing ſo learned a gentleman ſhould uſe no arguments but what go too far: they prove ſo much, that they tumble all proof about his ears. So a governor is to be illegally, cruelly, and without any adequate reaſon, depoſed, impriſoned, and his life threatened, by a bribed, corrupted council, and you are not to reſtore him, leſt he ſhould then uſe his power without moderation. Was there ever ſo farcical a ſyſtem! that the principle of doing miſchief is to be maintained, and its conſequences endured, leſt by diſarming the authors, and reſtoring power to its rightful poſſeſſors, you may run the riſk of having it exerted too rigidly on the delinquents. If this be logic, there is at once an end of law and juſtice."

It will not require any great exertion of the reader's ſagacity to determine whether the majority were influenced by the lord advocate's logic, or by the nabob's more ſubſtantial arguments tranſmitted through the hands of Mr. MACLEANE. When the houſe divided, the numbers were only 67 in favor of governor JOHNSTONE's motion, againſt 90, by whom it was rejected. The unfortunate nobleman, whoſe conduct and whoſe ſufferings were the chief ſubject of the debate, did not live to feel the additional ſting of parliamentary injuſtice. Eleven days before this deciſion, he fell a victim to the rigours of confinement, to the inſults and cruelty of his enemies; but retained to the laſt moment that dignity and firmneſs of character, for which he had been ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed*. As Mr. BURKE was the intimate friend of

* The above affair, with all its circumſtances, was again brought before the houſe of commons, on the ſixteenth of April 1779, when admiral PIGOT, after ſtating in a ſeries of reſolutions, the principal facts relative to the cataſtrophe, concluded with moving an addreſs

of admiral PIGOT, the deceaſed lord's brother, that friendſhip would naturally heighten his indignation at ſuch wicked proceedings, and his reſentment againſt Mr. HASTINGS, the avowed enemy of lord PIGOT, and ſaid to be a joint contriver with the nabob of his lordſhip's arreſt and impriſonment. Mr. HASTINGS ſoon gave Mr. BURKE ſome farther cauſes of diſpleaſure. Through the recommendation of the latter, Mr. WILLIAM BURKE, who went out to Madras in the year 1777, was appointed agent to the rajah of Tanjore, an office which muſt have made him peculiarly obnoxious to Mr. HASTINGS. At the cloſe of the year 1780, when HYDER ALLY, with an army of more than eighty thouſand men, burſt like a prodigious torrent, into the Carnatic, a complaint was made to the governments of Bengal and Madras, that the rajah of Tanjore was not only deficient in his payments, but had refuſed a ſupply of grain to the Britiſh troops. Mr. HASTINGS gave it as his opinion in council, and cauſed meaſures to be taken to enforce the opinion, that the ſovereign ſtate, of which Tanjore was a dependant, being now in danger, every rupie collected from the country, every grain of rice in the granaries of Tanjore, beyond what was wanted for the rajah's perſonal uſe, ſhould be ſeized for the public ſervice. Mr.

dreſs to his majeſty, praying, "that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to give directions to his attorney general to proſecute GEORGE STRATTON, HENRY BROOKE, CHARLES FLOYER, and GEORGE MACKAY, eſquires, for ordering their governor, lord PIGOT, to be arreſted and confined under a military force; they being returned to England, and now within the juriſdiction of his majeſty's courts of Weſtminſter Hall." STRATTON, the ringleader of thoſe conſpirators, was, at this critical inſtant of time, perſonally preſent in his place, as a member of the houſe of commons; and entered into a long defence of his own conduct, as well as that of his colleagues. But his vindication appeared ſo unſatisfactory, that admiral PIGOT's reſolutions were carried and the addreſs agreed to without a diviſion. In the ſequel, however, the delinquents, though convicted in the court of King's Bench, were ſentenced only to pay a trifling fine!

WILLIAM

WILLIAM BURKE happened to be then at Tanjore, and took the earlieſt opportunity to ſend an account of this reſolution to his friends in England. When his diſpatches arrived in 1782, the ROCKINGHAM party were again come into office; and Mr. EDMUND BURKE, who now ſpoke with an authoritative tone, reprobated the ſentiments and conduct of Mr. HASTINGS in terms of the moſt unqualified ſeverity. He alſo got Mr. WILLIAM BURKE a new appointment, that of deputy paymaſter general for India, with a ſalary and emoluments amounting to near two thouſand pounds a year, which he retains to this moment. Lord MACARTNEY, then governor of Madras, always paid the moſt reſpectful attention to Mr. WILLIAM BURKE; but though this gentleman had been at Weſtminſter ſchool with Mr. HASTINGS, the latter never took any notice of him; and when, at a ſubſequent period, he expreſſed a wiſh to go to Bengal, Mr. HASTINGS and the council under his influence thought *there was no neceſſity for his taking the trouble.* So evident a ſlight could not fail of making ſome impreſſion on the proud, irritable temper of Mr. EDMUND BURKE; and may have co-operated with the nobler motives of public juſtice to inflame his ardor and ſtimulate his perſeverance in the proſecution of Mr. HASTINGS.

After the deciſion on governor JOHNSTONE's motion, the few debates in which Mr. BURKE took a part, during the remainder of the ſeſſion, would not now be deemed intereſting; but the events of the campaign of 1777 furniſhed him with topics of the utmoſt importance againſt the next meeting of parliament. His leiſure time during the receſs was, as uſual, filled up in writing the Hiſtory of Europe for the Annual Regiſter; and he aſſiſted alſo in another piece of compoſition, the failure of which proved very mortifying to his pride as a genius, and to his feelings as a father.

His ſon, a young man of an amiable temper, of very pleaſing manners, and of talents far above mediocrity, had then completed his fourth year at Oxford, and expreſſed a wiſh to become a candidate for the bachelor's prize, which was to be adjudged to any member of four years ſtanding and under ſeven, who ſhould write the beſt Engliſh eſſay *on the origin and uſe of printing*. The father naturally encouraged ſuch laudable ambition, and ſuggeſted a variety of important hints and of beautiful ideas on the ſubject. He adviſed his ſon to take for his motto, *Materiam, quâ fis ingenioſus, habes*; and, indeed, much ingenuity was diſplayed by both in this elegant performance; but their united labours did not gain the prize. A writer of very inferior abilities was more fortunate in this conteſt for academical honors.

Mr. BURKE's attention was ſoon called off to matters of much greater moment. The miniſtry at this time founded the moſt ſanguine hopes upon the ſucceſs of an expedition on the ſide of Canada, the object of which was to drive the enemy from the frontiers of that province, to open a communication between the northern and ſouthern colonies, and to co-operate with the deſigns of the central army. The plan of operations had been concerted the preceding winter by lord GEORGE GERMAINE, then ſecretary of ſtate for the American department, and general BURGOYNE, who returned early in the ſpring to America, with a commiſſion appointing him commander in chief of the northern army beyond the limits of Canada. Such an appointment was very injudicious, and muſt have given great offence to ſir GUY CARLETON, the governor of the province, who, in all the complex and hazardous operations of the former campaign, had acted with equal vigour, judgment,

and

and ſucceſs. From his long reſidence in Canada, he knew more accurately than general BURGOYNE the ſituation of the country, the manners of the inhabitants, and the extent of its reſources; and he united greater authority with more military experience. He would have been more aware of the difficulties to be encountered, and better prepared to ſurmount them. But general BURGOYNE happened to be a member of parliament; and it was one of lord NORTH's greateſt weakneſſes, one of thoſe miſerable expedients which he too often ſubſtituted for grandeur of deſign, to beſtow ſome of the moſt important employments, both military and naval, on men who were in the habit of oppoſing his meaſures with the greateſt aſperity. Thus the firſt objects of public ſervice were frequently ſacrificed to the pitiful policy of ſecuring himſelf, or of weakening the force of parliamentary attack. It is but juſtice, however, to general BURGOYNE, to obſerve, that he was a brave officer, yet as little qualified for the propoſed enterprize of penetrating through the woods and wilds of America, as the duke of BRUNSWICK was to lead his ruffian train to Paris. The general ſet out with a well-equipped army from St. John's on the ſixteenth of June, and proceeding up Lake Champlain, landed a little to the northward of Crown Point, where he met the Indians in congreſs; and, in compliance with their cuſtoms, gave them a war-feaſt, and made a ſpeech to them, which vainly aimed at producing two effects abſolutely incompatible in the mind of a ſavage, at once to inflame their military ardor, and to mitigate their natural ferocity. He ſoon after iſſued a proclamation, in which he ſtrove to inſpire the contumacious with terror, and to revive in their breaſts every latent impreſſion of fear, derived from a knowledge of the cruel operations of the ſavages, whoſe numbers were accordingly magnified,

magnified, and their eagerneſs to be let looſe on their prey deſcribed with uncommon energy: the force of that great power, which was now ſpread by ſea and land to embrace or to cruſh every part of America, was diſplayed in very lofty language: the rebellion with its effects, and the conduct of the new governors, were charged with the higheſt colouring, and exhibited a moſt hideous picture of unparalleled injuſtice, cruelty, perſecution, and tyranny: encouragement and employment were promiſed to thoſe, who, with a diſpoſition and ability ſuited to the purpoſe, ſhould aſſiſt in re-eſtabliſhing the old, legal government: protection and ſecurity, but clogged with conditions, reſtricted by circumſtances, and rather imperfectly or inexplicitly expreſſed, were held out to the peaceable and induſtrious, who continued in their habitations; and all the calamities and outrages of war, arrayed in their moſt dreadful forms, were denounced againſt thoſe who perſevered in their hoſtility. Mr. BURKE was the firſt who called this proclamation a bombaſtic and *murder-breathing* paraphraſe of the following lines from SHAKESPEARE'S "TIMON of ATHENS:"

——————" Let not thy ſword ſkip one—
" Pity not honour'd age for his white beard—
" Strike me the matron——Let not the virgin's cheek
" Make ſoft thy trenchant ſword—Spare not the babe,
" Whoſe dimpled ſmiles from fools exhauſt their mercy—
" Mince it without remorſe."

But though Mr. BURKE could then condemn the folly and ferocity of ſuch menaces, in a declared attempt to quell rebellion, as having no other tendency than to rouze the indignation of the rebels, and impel them to the moſt deſperate reſiſtance; yet, a few years after in a war of tyrants againſt freemen,—in a war at firſt undertaken by a conſpiracy of rapacious invaders to deſtroy

deſtroy the rights, and ſhare among themſelves the property of French citizens, he could read with admiration and rapture the more inflated, the more ſanguinary manifeſto of the duke of BRUNSWICK,---of that duke, who threatened to deſolate all France with fire and ſword; but after a ſhort cannonade, after the firſt ſmell almoſt of French powder, fled from Champagne with a degree of confuſion and precipitancy unparalleled even in the records of Perſian cowardice.

General BURGOYNE, however, went on for ſome time in a rapid career of good fortune; and made himſelf maſter of Ticonderoga and the Lakes, which were conſidered as the grand keys of North America. His firſt diſpatches, written in a very pompous ſtile, appeared with great parade in a gazette extraordinary, and afforded no ſmall matter of triumph to the advocates for an unqualified ſubjugation of the colonies. The morning after the publication of this gazette, Mr. BURKE was called upon by one of his ſon's friends, who, after the uſual interchange of civility, being aſked, *what news?* replied, with thoughtleſs ſimplicity, "I ſee, by the gazette, we have gained ſome advantages in Canada." ---"The *king's miniſters*," ſaid Mr. BURKE ſternly, "may flatter themſelves that *they* have gained ſome advantages; but *we* have not. Thank God, however," added he, laying his right hand on his breaſt, and his countenance brightening up at the ſame inſtant, "the enemy are ſtill in good heart." His hopes were not unfounded. The enemy ſoon recovered from their firſt alarm: they rallied their diſperſed forces: and the deceitful gleam of early ſucceſs led on BURGOYNE to the melancholy cataſtrophe at Saratoga.

The accounts of this diſaſtrous event did not reach England till the beginning of December, about a fortnight after the meeting

ing of parliament. It naturally gave riſe to ſome very warm debates, in which lord CHATHAM in the upper houſe, and Mr. BURKE in the lower, made the moſt diſtinguiſhed figures. Theſe two orators very much reſembled each other in declamatory powers, in vehemence, in that ardor of genius which kindled in an inſtant, and ſeemed to bear down every thing before it. But, in CHATHAM, it was rather the fulminating energy of a PERICLES; in BURKE, the ſplendid conflagration of a TULLY: in the one we felt more heat, though the blaze of the other was not leſs brilliant. Both could avail themſelves of the moſt trifling object before them, and give it force and dignity. Obſerve with what effect the earl could introduce even his gouty prop into a ſpeech---"To conquer the Americans, my lords, is impoſſible---You cannot do it---I may as well pretend to drive them before me with this crutch." In the ſame manner, Mr. BURKE, in a debate on the bill for the impartial adminiſtration of juſtice in the province of Maſſachuſets Bay, aſſerted, "that a great black book, and a great many red coats would never be able to govern America."---Hear them on the employment of the Canadian ſavages. "Who is the man," ſaid lord CHATHAM, "that, in addition to the diſgraces and miſchiefs of war, has dared to authorize and aſſociate to our arms the tomahawk and ſcalping knife of the ſavage?---to call into civilized alliance the wild and inhuman inhabitant of the woods?---to delegate to the mercileſs Indian the defence of diſputed rights, and to wage the horrors of this barbarous war againſt our brethren!" Lord SUFFOLK, in reply, having attempted to juſtify the employment of the Indians, not only on the ground of policy and neceſſity, but upon principle, as *one of the means which God and Nature had put into our hands*, the earl of CHATHAM roſe with unuſual emotion, and exclaimed,

exclaimed, " I am aſtoniſhed---ſhocked to hear ſuch principles confeſſed,---to hear them avowed in this houſe, or even in this country! My lords, I did not intend to have encroached again on your attention;---but I cannot repreſs my indignation.---I feel myſelf impelled to ſpeak. My lords, we are called upon as members of this houſe, as men, as Chriſtians, to proteſt againſt ſuch horrible barbarity. *That God and Nature had put into our hands!* What ideas of God and Nature that noble lord may entertain, I know not;---but I know that ſuch deteſtable principles are equally abhorrent to religion and humanity. What! to attribute the ſacred ſanction of God and Nature to the maſſacres of the Indian ſcalping knife! * * * * To ſend forth the mercileſs cannibal thirſting for blood! and againſt whom? Your proteſtant brethren---to lay waſte their country, to deſolate their dwellings, and extirpate their race and name by the inſtrumentality of theſe horrible hell-hounds of war!" * * * Such was the earl's language in moving an amendment of the miniſterial addreſs to the throne on the twentieth of November 1777. In ſpeaking on the ſame ſubject a few days after, he ſaid, " that the arms of Britain had been ſullied and tarniſhed by blending the ſcalping knife and tomahawk with the ſword and firelock. Such a mode of warfare was a contamination which all the waters of the Hudſon and the Delawar would never waſh away."

Mr. BURKE, on the ſixth of February following, took up the ſubject, as if it had never been touched before; and in moving for papers relative to the employment of the Indians, he reprobated the meaſure in ſuch glowing, ſuch indignant burſts of oratory, as did equal honour to his feelings, and to his talents. " The Indian mode of making war," ſaid he, " is ſo horrible as not only to ſhock the manners of civilized nations, but far to exceed the ferocity

city of any other barbarians recorded in ancient or modern hiſtory. Their chief glory conſiſts in the number of human ſcalps they acquire; and their higheſt gratification is in the practice of torturing, mangling, roaſting, and devouring their captives. Every attempt to prevent ſuch enormities has always proved, and muſt always prove, unavailing. What! did general BURGOYNE imagine that he could curb and mitigate the ferocity of a ſavage by an eloquent harangue? He might as well have addreſſed himſelf to the wild beaſts of the foreſt. The Indians, whom he employed, indiſcriminately butchered men, women, and children,---friends and foes,---armed or unarmed, without diſtinction." Here Mr. BURKE drew an affecting picture of the horrid murder of Miſs MAC RAE on the morning of her intended marriage with an officer of the king's troops; and of the maſſacre in cold blood of the priſoners taken in an engagement near Fort Stanwix. He could not indeed have given more ſtriking inſtances of the abſolute impracticability of reſtraining the barbarities of thoſe ſavages. But neither his pathetic ſtrains, nor the ſeemingly irreſiſtible appeals of a CHATHAM, could make any impreſſion on callous and corrupt majorities.

One of thoſe famous orators lived to ſee a ſtill ſtronger proof of parliamentary inſenſibility to every impulſe of humanity and honour. It is impoſſible to deſcribe without ſhuddering the means employed in the year 1796 to quell an inſurrection of the Maroons at Jamaica. Blood-hounds were imported from one of the Spaniſh iſlands, in order to tear to pieces and extirpate thoſe pitiable wretches, whoſe only crime was an attempt to retaliate the moſt cruel injuries, and to ſecure by revenge the ſacred rights of which avarice and inhumanity had endeavoured to deprive them. In vain did they now ſtrive to hide themſelves in the cock-

cock-pits and faſtneſſes in their mountains: beaſts of prey, the new allies of a cowardly militia, were ſent to hunt them out; and they were ſoon compelled to ſurrender at diſcretion, and to go on board tranſports to be conveyed wherever their ferocious conquerors might think proper. As lord BALCARRAS, the governor of the iſland, had given his ſanction to this deteſtable mode of warfare, it was hoped that he would be brought to anſwer for ſuch conduct before the tribunal of the legiſlature. But an inquiry into the buſineſs, propoſed in the houſe of commons by general MACLEOD, and recommended with that candour, ſpirit, and ability, for the happy union of which he is ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed, ſhared the common fate of every patriotic motion; though Mr. DUNDAS could offer no better excuſe, in extenuation of the ſanguinary meaſure, than, *that the militia was weak,---that the country felt it juſtifiable and neceſſary to reſort to every means of protection againſt robbers,---and that he underſtood the dogs were intended to* DISCOVER, *and* NOT *to* DESTROY! The general's attempt to wipe off ſo foul a ſtain from the military character of the nation, and to fix it upon the proper object, will do him immortal honour; while the name of lord BALCARRAS, in ſpite of every effort of miniſterial apology, and of venal praiſe, muſt deſcend, aſſociated with blood-hounds, to the lateſt poſterity.

Agreeably to the repeated warnings and predictions of both the earl of CHATHAM and Mr. BURKE, France avowed the concluſion of a treaty of amity, commerce, and alliance with America, in February 1778. The ROCKINGHAM party, at that criſis, were for an immediate recognition of American independence; which lord CHATHAM and his friends deprecated as the greateſt of all national evils. It was in a debate on this ſubject, April 7th, that this illuſtrious orator and ſtateſman, having made an effort,

as he truly ſaid, beyond the powers of his conſtitution, fell down ſuddenly in a convulſive fit; and, after lingering a few weeks at Hayes, his country ſeat in Kent, he expired on the eleventh of May, in the ſeventieth year of his age. With all his faults, and ſome very great ones he certainly committed, it would have been well for this country, had his younger ſon inherited a few of his virtues. We have already given Mr. BURKE's maſterly ſketch of his errors and his adminiſtration. We have ventured to point out the characteriſtical excellence of his oratory, when compared with that of Mr. BURKE; but we cannot help adding, that, as a writer, he was infinitely inferior to the latter. When lord CHATHAM took a pen in hand, it ſeemed to operate like the touch of a torpedo---it unnerved and benumbed all his faculties: but Mr. BURKE's pen had the powers of an electrical conductor, and tranſfuſed into his writings the fire of his genius with undiminiſhed ardour and energy. He ſoon had occaſion for the utmoſt exertions of both his tongue and his pen in matters of immediate concern to himſelf, as well as to the country.

It is probable that the greater part of the freemen of Briſtol acquieſced in Mr. BURKE's reaſons for a partial ſeceſſion in the year 1777; but all the efforts of his ingenuity could not reconcile them to his conduct in another affair, though infinitely more juſtifiable, yet admitting of no excuſe in their minds, becauſe it ſhocked the prejudices of ignorance and bigotry. On the fourteenth of May 1778, ſir GEORGE SAVILLE moved for leave to bring in a bill for the repeal of certain penalties impoſed by an act of the tenth and eleventh of WILLIAM III. entitled "An act for preventing the farther growth of popery;" which penalties the mover ſtated to be the puniſhment of popiſh prieſts or jeſuits, as guilty of felony, who ſhould be found to officiate in the ſervice

of

of their church; the forfeiture of the eſtate to the next proteſtant heir, in caſe of the education of the Romiſh poſſeſſor abroad; the power given to the ſon, or other neareſt relation, being a proteſtant, to take poſſeſſion of the father's eſtate during the life-time of the proprietor; and the depriving papiſts of the power of acquiring any legal property by purchaſe. He ſaid, that one of his principal views in propoſing this repeal was *to vindicate the honour and to aſſert the principles of the proteſtant religion*, to which all perſecution was, and ought to be, wholly adverſe. However neceſſary the penal laws againſt papiſts might have been thought, whilſt the conſtitution was ſtruggling into reform, and afterwards confirming itſelf in that happy ſettlement, true policy, as well as the liberal ſpirit of Chriſtian charity, now forbade the keeping up of ſuch ſtanding memorials of civil rancour and diſcord, and perpetuating a line of diviſion, by which one part of the people being cut off from the rights of citizens, could ſcarcely be ſaid to poſſeſs any ſhare in the common intereſt, and were rendered incapable of forming any part of the common union of defence. Theſe laws ſeemed calculated to compel a conſiderable body of the people to hold an hereditary enmity to government, and even to wean them from all affection to their country. Sir GEORGE was very ably ſeconded by Mr. DUNNING, the recorder of Briſtol, who made uſe of ſuch arguments as muſt have convinced any candid inquirer after truth, that the penalties in queſtion were diſgraceful not only to religion, but to humanity; that they were calculated to looſen all the bands of ſociety,---to diſſolve all ſocial, moral, and religious obligations and duties,---to poiſon the ſources of domeſtic felicity, and to annihilate every principle of honour. The motion was received by the houſe with ſuch high and marked approbation, that the bill founded upon it paſſed without

out a ſingle negative, and ſoon acquired, by the concurrence of the lords and the king, the force of a law. Mr. BURKE's warm avowal of his ſentiments in favor of this bill, not only at the time of its paſſing, but afterwards in the year 1780 when it was attacked by all the frenzy of outrageous fanatics, made him particularly offenſive to the very people, of whom he had before been the idol. Fools and bigots ſwallowed with avidity the moſt calumniating reports of his being a papiſt, a jeſuit in diſguiſe, educated at St. Omer's, and aiming at nothing leſs than ſecretly to undermine the eſtabliſhed church, and to erect popery on its ruins.

Mr. BURKE had alſo the misfortune to ſhock the commercial, as well as the religious prejudices of the freemen of Briſtol. In the ſame ſeſſion that the penal ſtatutes againſt the papiſts were repealed, a reviſion of the Iriſh trade laws engaged no ſmall part of the time and attention of parliament. A kind of left-handed policy had too long ſubjected the ſiſter kingdom to the moſt cruel, oppreſſive, and unnatural reſtrictions. Deprived of every incentive to induſtry, and ſhut out from every paſſage to wealth, ſhe had inwardly lamented, but had never been clamorous, or importunate in her complaints. She had gone the moſt forward lengths in ſerving the intereſts, and in defending the rights of Great Britain. She had aſſiſted in conqueſts from which ſhe was to gain no advantage: ſhe had emptied her treaſury and deſolated her land, to prove her attachment and loyalty. Such grievances called loudly for redreſs; and the meaſure being propoſed by one of the court party was very cordially entered into by moſt of the principal members of the oppoſition. Several reſolutions dictated by candour, juſtice, and wiſdom, were paſſed in a committee of the whole houſe of commons; but before any progreſs could be made

made in the bills founded on theſe reſolutions, they excited a very great and general alarm amongſt the commercial part of the Britiſh nation, who ſeemed to conſider the admittance of Ireland to any participation in trade as equally deſtructive to their property and ſubverſive of their rights. The Eaſter receſs afforded time and opportunity for preparing inſtructions to repreſentatives, and petitions againſt the bills, which ſoon poured in from every quarter, and which had ſuch an influence on the diſpoſition of the houſe, that ſome openings in the African and Weſt India trades, and a little enlargement of the freedom of exportation in a few other trifling articles, were the only conceſſions then made to Ireland. It deſerves mention as an inſtance of mercantile folly and prejudice, that, in ſeveral of the petitions, the importation of Iriſh ſail-cloth and of wrought iron was particularly ſpecified as ruinous to the ſame manufactures in England; though, as Mr. BURKE juſtly obſerved, Ireland had long poſſeſſed thoſe very privileges under the ſanction of a poſitive law, but was ſo incapable of proſecuting ſuch manufactures to any purpoſe of competition, that great quantities of both were annually exported from England to that country.

When Mr. BURKE firſt voted for the reſolutions, before they were thrown into the form of a bill, he ſent a copy of them, with a ſhort juſtification of his concurrence in ſuch meaſures, to the ſociety of merchant-adventurers at Briſtol. Mr. SPAN, then maſter or preſident of that ſociety, ſoon wrote to Mr. BURKE, politely reminding him of what the ſociety called *the intereſt of his conſtituents*, and expreſſing much concern that they were not to have him for their advocate. Mr. BURKE, in a reply which he afterwards printed, ſtated more at length his reaſons for ſupporting a ſcheme, in which the only fault he could find was, that

that it fell extremely ſhort of that liberality in the commercial ſyſtem, which he hoped would one day be adopted. Still finding that old habits of monopoly were too ſtubborn for his arguments, and that he was charged with having taken a decided part *againſt* his conſtituents, he wrote and publiſhed another letter to a mercantile houſe at Briſtol, in order to wipe off ſo foul and ſo unmerited an imputation. His efforts were fruitleſs. The citizens continued peremptory in their orders to oppoſe the bills in queſtion with all the force of his genius and eloquence. But he ſhewed a laudable and independent ſpirit in not ſacrificing the conviction of an enlightened mind to the narrow views of ſelfiſhneſs and avarice. His ſpeech in ſupport of the bills was dictated by true policy; and the ſentiments, with which he concluded it, did him real honour. He lamented, "that it could happen in any one inſtance, that his conſcience ſhould direct him to take a part contrary to the opinion of his conſtituents. It had been his invariable aim to protect their rights and intereſts, and to act at all times as became the ſenator and the repreſentative of the people. In this inſtance he had dared to act contrary to the wiſhes, though he was ſenſible, not to the intereſts of his conſtituents; and if, from his conduct in this buſineſs, he ſhould be deprived of his ſeat in parliament, as he apprehended he might, his conduct being diſapproved by many of his chief friends and ſupporters, as well as by all who had oppoſed him at his election, he had the ſatisfaction of being perfectly aſſured, that he ſhould ſuffer in the very cauſe of thoſe who had inflicted the puniſhment. He ſhould not blame them, if they did reject him: the event would afford a very uſeful example, on the one hand, of a ſenator inflexibly adhering to his opinion againſt intereſt and againſt popularity;

popularity; and, on the other, of conſtituents exerciſing their undoubted right of rejection,---not on corrupt motives, but from their perſuaſion, that he whom they had choſen, had acted againſt the judgment and intereſt of thoſe he repreſented." He was right in his conjectures. The citizens of Briſtol did not fail to embrace the firſt opportunity that offered, of withdrawing their confidence from him, very much to their own diſgrace, becauſe, in one inſtance, he had maintained that no claſs of people in England ought to be proſcribed on account of their religious opinions; and, in another, had dared to reſiſt the abſurd mandates of ignorance, jealouſy, and a ſpirit of excluſion.

The time, however, was faſt approaching, when pedlar principles and political injuſtice were obliged to give way to imperious neceſſity. In the ſummer of the year 1779, after Spain had formally avowed her junction with France, and when the flags of both countries were triumphantly diſplayed in the Channel, interrupting the commerce, and menacing the coaſts of Great Britain, Ireland finding herſelf completely abandoned, called forth an exertion of ſtrength and ſpirit which aſtoniſhed all Europe. Military and mercantile aſſociations began every where to be formed, the firſt for national defence, the others for the declared purpoſe of making England feel in her turn ſome of the grievances of excluſion. Reſolutions were entered into againſt the uſe of Britiſh manufactures; and fifty thouſand volunteers inſtantly ſtepped forward, in obedience to the call of their country. The hirelings of *the Caſtle* were ſcared at the ſight of a ſelf-raiſed, ſelf-equipped, ſelf-diſciplined army; and a very great majority even of a corrupt, but intimidated parliament, concurred in a repreſentation to the throne, "that it was not by temporary expedients, but by a free trade, that the Iriſh

nation was to be ſaved from impending ruin." It is not unlikely that the words "A FREE TRADE, OR---THIS," engraven on ſome of the cannon that lined the batteries of Dublin, gave conſiderable force to the language of the addreſs. Former prejudices ſeemed to be quite forgotten by the Britiſh miniſtry; and thoſe meaſures for the relief of Ireland, which had been rejected laſt ſeſſion, were now brought forward by lord NORTH, a little varied in form, and accompanied with ſeveral additional conceſſions, particularly the important one, *that Ireland ſhould be allowed the free exportation of her woollens.* This ſhew of liberality did not produce a permanent calm. The riſing ſpirit of a long oppreſſed people was not to be amuſed by relief from a few reſtraints on their trade, while they felt the more galling ſhackles of uſurped authority. The repeal of POYNING's law, or, in other words, the renunciation of that unconſtitutional claim, on the part of Great Britain, to legiſlate for Ireland, was inſiſted upon in very peremptory terms about the beginning of the year 1782; and, fortunately for both countries, a complete change of men and meaſures having juſt taken place in the Britiſh cabinet, the demand was granted without heſitation. What a ſpectacle then preſented itſelf to our view! Iriſh gratitude maintaining a glorious competition with Engliſh generoſity! The parliament of Ireland placed beyond a doubt the truth of one of their late aſſertions, *that they did not deſire to ſhare the freedom of England, without likewiſe ſharing her fate*; and unanimouſly voted twenty thouſand ſeamen for the ſervice of the Britiſh navy. How eaſy it would have been to render indiſſoluble the bond of union at that time formed between the two kingdoms! But the preſent miniſtry were ſcarcely fixed in the ſeat of power, before they drew up a ſcheme of new propoſitions

tions to ſeduce Ireland to barter away the moſt ineſtimable of her political rights for a ſhewy enlargement of her commercial privileges. The ſagacity and eloquence of a GRATTAN expoſed and defeated the fraudful deſign. Recourſe has ſince been had to various other modes of deluſion; but all of them, though operating with fatal effect, having ſtill fallen ſhort of the wiſhes of unqualified deſpotiſm, the maſk is now thrown off;---the ſword is drawn to enforce the moſt ſervile acquieſcence;---the people are even robbed of the miſerable conſolation of complaint;---and the new ſyſtem of terror is openly grafted on the old ſyſtem of corruption. The late Iriſh houſe of commons terminated its infamous career by giving its ſanction to impriſonment without law, to tranſportation without law, to the exceſſes of military violence without the authority of the civil magiſtrates, to rapine, outrage, devaſtation, and murder! But the dragon's teeth are ſown, and muſt ere long ſpring up in hoſts of armed patriots,---not, with frantic rage, to point their ſpears at each other's breaſts,---but, to fertilize the ſoil, and renovate the proverbial verdure of their country* by the blood of its cruel oppreſſors.

Every friend to liberty of conſcience and freedom of trade muſt condemn the raſh, yet obſtinate antipathy which the people of Briſtol took to Mr. BURKE on account of his ſupporting the popery act, and the reſolutions favorable to Iriſh commerce. Even had his conduct on both thoſe occaſions been liable to cenſure, inſtead of deſerving approbation, yet his ſignal exertions afterwards in the ſervice of his conſtituents, as well as of the public, ſhould have ſecured their forgiveneſs and their

* "Green Erin."

eſteem. It was in the ſeſſion immediately preceding the diſſolution of parliament in 1780, that he brought forward his famous plan of œconomical reform, the profeſſed objects of which were the reduction of the national expenditure, and the diminution of the influence of the crown,---" of that influence, which," he ſaid, " took away all vigour from our arms, wiſdom from our councils, and every ſhadow of authority and credit from the moſt venerable parts of our conſtitution." Nothing could have been more perfectly in tune with the ſentiments of the people at that time. The rapid and continual increaſe of the national debt had excited a very juſt alarm at the magnitude of the conteſt in which the country was engaged,---at the prodigious expence with which that conteſt was attended,---and at the proofs which every day appeared of prodigality, corruption, and a ſhameful waſte of the public money. Early in the year 1780 popular meetings were convened in moſt of the principal towns and counties all over the kingdom; and petitions to parliament were drawn up, agreed to, and preſented, all of them praying for a correction of abuſes in the public expenditure, and many of them extending to the grand remedy for every evil, a reform in the commons houſe of parliament. On this latter point, indeed, there was a great diverſity of opinions. Some contended for annual or triennial parliaments: others thought that the amputating knife ſhould be applied to the rotten boroughs, that gangrene of the Britiſh conſtitution; and a third party, among whom the duke of RICHMOND took the lead, were ſtrenuous in aſſerting the right of univerſal ſuffrage,---a right which they deemed paramount to all conſiderations of civil or political expediency. Mr. BURKE confined himſelf to what he called *the omnipotence of œconomy*; its power

to

to bind up and close the bleeding arteries of profusion,---to invigorate the natural constitution of the state, by reducing the fatal and overgrown influence of the crown. As some steps towards the attainment of so desirable an end, he moved for leave to bring in certain bills for the better regulation of his majesty's civil establishments; for the sale of forest and other crown lands; and for more profitably uniting to the crown the principality of Wales, the counties palatine of Chester and Lancaster, and the duchy of Cornwall. The powers of Mr. BURKE's genius and fancy were never, perhaps, more fully displayed than in the embellishment of so unpromising a subject. The necessary minuteness of detail, the multiplicity of local circumstances and personal considerations, on which the whole plan was founded, were enlivened by sportive sallies, and set off with all the charms of eloquence, all the beauties of poetical description. Mr. DUNNING said, "that it must remain as a monument, to be handed down to posterity, of the uncommon zeal, unrivalled industry, astonishing abilities, and invincible perseverance of the honourable gentleman. He had undertaken a task big with labour and difficulty; a task that embraced a variety of the most important objects, extensive, and complicated; yet such were the eminent and unequalled abilities, so extraordinary the talents and ingenuity, and such the fortunate frame of the honourable gentleman's mind, his vast capacity and happy conception, that in his hands, what must have proved a vast heap of ponderous matter, composed of heterogeneous ingredients, discordant in their nature, and opposite in principle, was so skilfully arranged as to become quite simple as to each respective part, dependent on each other; and the whole at the same time so judiciously combined, as to present nothing to almost any mind, tolerably intelligent, to divide, puzzle, or distract it."

In

In ſupport of his plan, Mr. BURKE defended the grand principle of timely reforms. He ridiculed the inheritance of error and abſurdity derived to us from our anceſtors, as if men were always to ſuffer bad things, becauſe thoſe who went before them had ſuffered the ſame. "There is a time," ſaid he, "when the hoary head of inveterate abuſe will neither draw reverence, nor obtain protection. *** Early reformations are amicable arrangements with a friend in power; late reformations are terms impoſed upon a conquered enemy: early reformations are made in cold blood; late reformations are made under a ſtate of inflammation. In that ſtate of things the people behold in government nothing that is reſpectable. They ſee the abuſe, and they will ſee nothing elſe---They fall into the temper of a furious populace, provoked at the diſorder of a houſe of ill-fame:---they never attempt to correct or regulate;---they go to work the ſhorteſt way;---they abate the nuiſance;---they pull down the houſe." This is exactly in the ſpirit of the earl of CHATHAM's prediction, "that, if parliament did not reform itſelf from within, it would be reformed with a vengeance from without."

Among the laughable paſſages with which Mr. BURKE's ſpeech on this occaſion abounds, we cannot overlook his deſcription of an attempt made by the miniſter to improve the local influence of the principality of Wales, and to transfer it to the fund of general corruption. The orator preſents to our view a Mr. JOHN PROBERT, a knight-errant, dubbed by the noble lord in the blue ribbon, and ſent to ſearch for revenues and adventures upon the mountains of Wales. But the *Preux Chevalier* was no ſooner arrived on the confines, than he found all Wales in arms to meet him. Since the invaſion of king EDWARD, and the maſſacre of the bards, there never was ſuch a tumult, and alarm, and uproar, through

through the region of *Preſtatyn*. *Snowdon* ſhook to its baſe---*Cader Edris* was looſened from its foundations. The fury of litigious war blew her horn on the mountains. The rocks poured down their goat-herds, and the deep caverns vomited out their miners. Every thing above ground, and every thing under ground, was in arms. The knight went to look for revenue like his maſters upon other occaſions; and like his maſters, he found rebellion. The wiſe Britons thought it more reaſonable that the poor waſted decrepit revenue of the principality ſhould die a natural than a violent death. They choſe that their ancient moſs-grown caſtles ſhould moulder into decay, under the ſilent touches of time, and the ſlow formality of an oblivious and drowſy exchequer, than that they ſhould be battered down all at once by the lively efforts of a penſioned engineer. As it was the fortune of the noble lord, under whoſe auſpices the enterprize had been ſet on foot, frequently to provoke reſiſtance, ſo it was his rule and nature to yield to that reſiſtance *in all caſes whatſoever*. He ſubmitted *with ſpirit* to the ſpirited remonſtrances of the Welſh; and thus, ſaid Mr. BURKE, "ends the famous hiſtory of the revenue adventures of the bold baron NORTH, and the good knight PROBERT, upon the mountains of *Venodotia*."

His humour and fancy are diſplayed with a no leſs happy effect in his remarks on the *board of green cloth*, and other expenſive remains of *feudality* in the king's houſhold. "It is abſurd," he ſays, "when the reaſon of old eſtabliſhments is gone, to preſerve nothing but the burthen of them. This is ſuperſtitiouſly to embalm a carcaſs not worth an ounce of the gums that are uſed to preſerve it. It is to burn precious oils in the tomb: it is to offer meat and drink to the dead,---not ſo much an honour to the deceaſed, as a diſgrace to the ſurvivors. Our palaces are vaſt, inhoſpitable

pitable halls. There the bleak winds, there BOREAS, *and* EURUS, *and* CAURUS, *and* ARGESTES *loud*, howling through the vacant lobbies, and clattering the doors of deſerted guard-rooms, appal the imagination, and conjure up the grim ſpectres of departed tyrants---the Saxon, the Norman, and the Dane---the ſtern EDWARDS, and fierce HENRIES---who ſtalk from deſolation to deſolation, through the dreary vacuity, and melancholy ſucceſſion of chill and comfortleſs chambers. When this tumult ſubſides, a dead, and ſtill more frightful ſilence would reign in this deſert, if every now and then the tacking of hammers did not announce, that thoſe conſtant attendants upon all courts in all ages, *Jobs*, were ſtill alive; for whoſe ſake alone it is, that any trace of ancient grandeur is ſuffered to remain. Theſe palaces are a true emblem of ſome governments: the inhabitants are decayed, but the governors and magiſtrates ſtill flouriſh. They put me in mind of OLD SARUM, where the repreſentatives, more in number than the conſtituents, only ſerve to inform us, that this was once a place of trade, and ſounding with *the buſy hum of men*, though now you can only trace the ſtreets by the colour of the corn; and its ſole manufacture is in members of parliament."

In order to ſhew the neceſſity of *œconomizing* by *principle*, and not by *detail*, he inſtances the ineffectual attempts of lord TALBOT to reform the royal kitchen, where his lordſhip was fruſtrated in all his deſigns, becauſe he did not, or could not go to the root of the evil. The department became more expenſive than ever---the civil liſt debt accumulated---why?---"It was truly from a cauſe," ſaid Mr. BURKE, "which, though perfectly adequate to the effect, one would not have inſtantly gueſſed:---it was *becauſe the turnſpit in the king's kitchen was a member of parliament*".

The

* Mr. BURKE alludes to a declaration made by lord TALBOT in a debate on the arrears of the civil liſt in 1777, when his lordſhip confeſſed how difficult it was to reform the menial

The king's domeſtic ſervants were all undone; his tradeſmen remained unpaid, and became bankrupt;---*becauſe the turnſpit of the king's kitchen was a member of parliament.* His majeſty's ſlumbers were interrupted; his pillow was ſtuffed with thorns; and his peace of mind entirely broken;---*becauſe the king's turnſpit was a member of parliament.* The judges were unpaid; the juſtice of the kingdom bent and gave way; the foreign miniſters remained inactive and unprovided; the ſyſtem of Europe was diſſolved; the chain of our alliances was broken; all the wheels of government at home and abroad were ſtopped; *becauſe the king's turnſpit was a member of parliament!*"

One of the debates on a clauſe in Mr. BURKE's plan for aboliſhing the *board of trade*, as being only the phantom of a long departed inefficient office, was rendered highly entertaining by an altercation between Mr. EDEN, now lord AUCKLAND, then a member of that board, and the eloquent expoſer of its inutility. Mr. EDEN informed the committee, that the records of the board conſiſted of upwards of 2,300 volumes in folio, which he would be bold to ſay contained much important and intereſting information. It was now, indeed, propoſed to throw them into the flames, becauſe the honourable gentleman, who knew nothing of their contents, and declined to be informed of them, preſumed that they were no more than monuments of unprofitable labour. The honourable gentleman had choſen, upon a recent

menial ſervants of his majeſty's houſehold, while the profits were enjoyed by perſons of a certain rank, and the ſervices were performed by another: one of the turnſpits was a member of the houſe of commons, with a handſome ſalary: the poor man, who did the duty, had five pounds a year for his trouble!

occaſion, to call his witneſſes from the dead*. It was a ſpecies of proof he could not now object to. If ſo, he might in thoſe volumes read the names of Mr. LOCKE, Mr. ADDISON, Mr. PRIOR, lord MOLESWORTH, and the late Mr. CHARLES TOWNSHEND, and many others of the firſt rank and firſt-rate abilities, who at different times enjoyed ſeats at the board of trade. That reſpectable ſtateſman, and moſt excellent man, the late earl of SUFFOLK, could not be ſummoned in this caſe; but the honourable gentleman might indulge his ſportive imagination round the tombs of LOCKE and ADDISON. He might ſpeak epigrams on their eſcutcheons---he might paint their laſt ſickneſſes, without bringing the painful recollection of a departed friend, or the agonies of grief from widows, mothers, or ſiſters, or diſguſt or uneaſineſs to the relations of the deceaſed. Mr. EDEN regretted that he found himſelf under the neceſſity of recalling to the memory of the committee ſo diſagreeable a ſubject; but as ſenſibility and good nature were the leading fea-

* Mr. BURKE, in his grand ſpeech on œconomical reform above quoted, had contended for the propriety of ſuppreſſing the *new office of ſecretary of ſtate for the colonies*, as being equally unneceſſary and expenſive. The correſpondence with the colonies had been, until within a few years, carried on by the ſouthern ſecretary of ſtate; yet this department had not been ſhunned upon account of the weight of its duties; but, on the contrary, much ſought on account of its patronage. The late lord SUFFOLK, who had filled the office, was ſaid to be a man of diligence and much mental vigour, but was for ſome time diſabled from the exertion of either by his bodily infirmities. "Dead to the ſtate," ſaid the orator, "long before he was dead to nature, he at laſt paid his tribute to the common treaſury to which we muſt all be taxed. But ſo little want was found even of his intentional induſtry, that the office, vacant in reality to its duties long before, continued vacant even in nomination and appointment for a year after his death. The whole of the laborious and arduous correſpondence of this empire reſted ſolely upon the activity and energy of lord WEYMOUTH. It is therefore demonſtrable, ſince one diligent man was fully equal to the duties of the two offices, that two diligent men will be equal to the duty of three."

tures;

tures of the honourable gentleman's character, he only referred to that part of the honourable gentleman's ſpeech, in order to remind him, that he could not bear to ſee them ſacrificed to the wantonneſs of eloquence.

" I am not a little amazed," ſaid Mr. BURKE in reply, " at hearing myſelf charged with having ſported with the feelings of either the widows, mothers, or ſiſters of the deceaſed. Had any thing improper been ſaid in *the wantonneſs of eloquence*, as the honourable gentleman has called it, it ought to be corrected in the coolneſs of recollection. In talking of the late lord SUFFOLK, I neither intended to inſult his memory, nor to afflict his family. God forbid I ſhould do either the one or the other! I declared him to be a man of honour, and directed my ridicule at his office, not at his perſon. When I came to that part of my argument which called for ſome notice of the inutility of there being more than two ſecretaries of ſtate, I was naturally induced to inſtance the remarkable fact of the late lord SUFFOLK's being incapable to diſcharge the duties of his office for a long time before he died, and of the office remaining vacant for near twelve months after his deceaſe. It was on that account I called it the *widowed* ſecretaryſhip, and the *barren* office,---an office firſt made an *infirmary*, and then converted into a grand *cemetery*, in which the bones of a ſecretary laid in ſtate and in grand funeral pomp, as in a kind of *Jeruſalem chamber*, with a hatchment over the door, and eſcutcheons and lights round the corpſe for a whole twelvemonth together. But ſurely there cannot be any man ſimple enough to conceive, that, when I uſed this figure, I meaned to be underſtood literally, or deſigned to inſinuate that the corpſe of the late lord SUFFOLK did actually remain in the office for ſuch a period after his death. The idea would imply the greateſt extravagance but

if the matter had ſeriouſly been, as I ludicrouſly ſtated it, I do not think but the office would have been made as good uſe of, as any uſe it was put to for the time mentioned. Let me now thank the honourable gentleman for his hiſtorical account of the origin and utility of the board of trade. I am ready to accept that, but not his *two thouſand, three hundred volumes*, which I muſt beg to be excuſed from taking---I will not look into one of them. They would ſerve, however, as a monument, under which both my clauſe and myſelf might be buried; and would form a funeral pile for us, as large as one of the pyramids of Egypt. Alas, poor clauſe! if it be thy fate to be put to death, thou ſhalt be glorioufly intombed!---thou ſhalt lie under a ſplendid mauſoleum!---the corners of thy cenotaph ſhall be ſupported by LOCKE, by ADDISON, by PRIOR, and by MOLESWORTH!"

Mr. BURKE went on for ſome time in this ſtrain, and amuſed his hearers with a ſucceſſion of images, in which the dull, ſenſeleſs, ſluggiſh contents of *two thouſand three hundred volumes in folio*, large enough to fill the room he was ſpeaking in, were contraſted with the tranſcendent talents, ſolid knowledge, and exalted characters of thoſe great and wiſe men who were called in as witneſſes, to ſtamp authority upon folly, to give currency to dulneſs, and induce the committee to believe that what was laborious was uſeful. Much as he reſpected the names of a LOCKE, an ADDISON, a PRIOR, he could not undertake to ſtudy the *two thouſand three hundred volumes*, nor conſider them as any part of the productions of the authors alluded to. He revered literature, but he did not wiſh to be overwhelmed with it. A great book was to him a great evil. The ſmall volume of common ſenſe, the ideas already traced out and regiſtered in the volume of his brain, were ſufficient to guide ſuch a weak and

inſignificant

insignificant individual as he was. He would not even look into the *two thousand three hundred folios*; and with regard to the great dead authorities cited by the honourable gentleman as having sat at the board, there was not a sinecure, nor an inefficient employment, the continuance of which he could not support, if quoting the name of some great and respectable living or dead character, who had at one time or another held either, was admitted as a sufficient argument for its being continued. "As a board of trade," added he, "I must condemn that which my clause tends to abolish; but considered as an academy of *belles lettres*, into which it is now converted, I am willing to bow my head in reverence to the great and shining talents of its several members. Every department of literature, the solid and the entertaining, the instructive and the amusing, has its separate professor. The public exercises of the academy do it honour, and render it an object of public admiration and public applause. The historian's labours, the wise and salutary result of deep religious researches, [GIBBON's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire] the essence of epistolary correspondence, [EDEN's Letters to Lord CARLISLE] and the great fund of political and legal knowledge, displayed by some of its members, entitle them to every mark of respect. Nor must I pass over unnoticed the poetical accomplishments of the president, [lord CARLISLE] which, in an age of poetry, would have given him rank among the best of our minor poets, in this age, which is of a more serious turn, make him deservedly regarded as a great poet. To the professors themselves I owe all possible deference; and from that deference it is that I wish to rescue them from the ignominy of being degraded to a board of trade. As an academy of *belles lettres* I should hold them hallowed; as a board of trade

I wish

I wiſh to aboliſh them. There is another honourable gentleman, [SOAME JENNINGS] who ſits at the board, and has long ſat there, who is no leſs admired for his talents than high integrity. That gentleman, among other performances deſervedly eſteemed, has written on the *Origin of Evil.* I cannot ſay, that it was the board, at which he ſat, which ſuggeſted the title of his book; but ſurely I may well ſay, that the honourable gentleman's long experience might have led him to know, that the board of trade was one great political evil, as it was attended with conſiderable expence, and was continued to increaſe the undue and unconſtitutional influence of the crown in this houſe, one of the greateſt political evils, or, indeed, the aggregate of them all. I admire the various productions of genius that have iſſued from individual members of that board, but I really cannot diſcover any utility in the enormous maſs of their collected toil, in the *two thouſand three hundred folios*, againſt the dulneſs of which I hope I may be allowed to quote one little book of a much humbler claſs, QUARLE'S *Emblems!*---a book that affords ſcope for the faculties to diſplay themſelves to a certain extent, and which at leaſt poſſeſſes the merit of having ſome very pretty pictures in it. In QUARLE'S *Emblems* I remember to have ſeen a picture repreſenting a man incloſed in a large human ſkeleton, deſigned as an emblem of death, and the man crying out, *Oh! how ſhall I get out of this ſtrong death?*---In this very ſituation I conſider the great writers who now ſit at the board of trade. They are immured in a ſkeleton, which is death to the freedom of their genius, and the ſtrong ribs of which bar them from all opportunity of taking thoſe ſoaring flights they are otherwiſe capable of. I mean to deſtroy the ſkeleton of death, and to give them liberty!"

Mr.

Mr. BURKE's fancy was not leſs fertile than QUARLE's *Emblems*, and quickly ſuggeſted to him another compariſon. He viewed the board of trade as a crow's neſt, in which nightingales were kept priſoners: his deſign, therefore, he ſaid, was to take down the neſt, and reſtore the nightingales to their freedom, that they might ſing more delightfully. He farther obſerved, without any figure or allegory, that the incomes of the commiſſioners were too great for their good. FRANCIS I. had been complained of, becauſe he founded what he called his *Parnaſſus*, and endowed it moſt amply; in conſequence of which, it was ſaid, authors were too rich to write, and the reverſe of the intention of the inſtitution was the effect of it. Literature declined, in proportion as the incomes of thoſe capable of writing became liberal. This evil Mr. BURKE meaned to avoid by lopping off the board of trade in time. His pointed ſtrictures, his figurative and hiſtorical alluſions, his irony and his ſerioufneſs, his ridicule and his reaſoning, ſeemed to produce the deſired effect. After a long and warm debate, the committee divided at two o'clock in the morning, when the clauſe for aboliſhing the board of trade was approved of by a majority of of 207 againſt 199. But though in this, and ſome other of the conflicts, to which Mr. BURKE's œconomical propoſitions gave riſe, the miniſter was left in a minority, yet he found means to defeat the ſcheme in its progreſs; and the bills were loſt.

It is remarkable that Mr. DUNNING's judicious and ſpirited efforts in the ſame ſeſſion to obtain a parliamentary redreſs of the abuſes complained of in the popular petitions had nearly the ſame iſſue. The famous reſolution *that the influence of the crown had increaſed, was increaſing, and ought to be diminiſhed*, and ſome others, were at firſt triumphantly [illegible] in ſpite of

the miniſter. But a bar was ſoon oppoſed to all farther advances on this ground, and the ſtrength of corrupt influence was fatally diſplayed in the number of thoſe, who, on a ſubſequent day, receded from their former declaration, and voted for the ſpeaker's leaving the chair. Mr. BURKE renewed his own laudable attempt again and again, till a change of adminiſtration ultimately crowned his endeavours with ſucceſs.

The frantic tumult about popery in the year 1780 was attended with far worſe effects than the ſacrifice of ſome lives, or the deſtruction of ſome property. Such ſcenes of horror and calamity damped the ſpirit of union among the people, and were very plauſibly urged, as a warning againſt the exceſſes, into which popular aſſociations for any reform or pretended redreſs of grievances were apt to lead. No diſtinction was made between firmneſs and violence,---between cool deliberation and fanatical precipitancy. Meetings of every kind, even with a view to the beſt purpoſes, were conſidered as dangerous; and immenſe numbers of well-diſpoſed perſons ſeemed to exult in their exemption from the frenzy, as they called it, of public ſpirit, without conſidering that a ſtate of lethargic indifference is a thouſand times more fatal and more irremediable. The boiſterous fury of the ocean, the ſtorm that ſweeps every thing before it, and burſts of thunder that rend the ſkies, are certainly terrific, and partially deſtructive; but are they not, at the ſame time, the great preſervers of animal life? Are the few victims of their rage to be compared with the univerſal death which muſt enſue from a ſtagnant body of waters, and from a dull, unagitated, peſtilential atmoſphere? Such is the difference between the vivifying exploſions of liberty, and the ſullen, deadly repoſe of deſpotiſm. But after the riots in 1780, the dread of mobs ſeemed to have abſorbed all the diſcon-

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tents of the nation;---military force was deemed neceſſary to the ſupport of the laws and government, as well as to the domeſtic ſecurity of the people;---and the utmoſt ſtretch of arbitrary power did not preſent to the imagination evils ſo immediately alarming as the fury of an ungoverned rabble. This ſtate of things encouraged the miniſters to take a ſtep, which they probably would not otherwiſe have ventured upon; and a proclamation for diſſolving the parliament, and for calling a new one, was iſſued on the firſt of September. Mr. BURKE repaired to Briſtol with all poſſible diſpatch; but it was only to experience the humiliating rebuff, of which he had been for ſome time apprehenſive. As, however, a very large party of quakers and other diſſenters ſtill remained firm in his intereſt, he was induced to make a ſhort trial of his ſtrength with three candidates who had ſtarted before him. His ſpeech to the freemen at the Guildhall on the ſixth of September met with juſt applauſe. It ſoon appeared in print, and contained a defence of his parliamentary conduct in a ſtile very different from the *little, ſilly, canvaſs prattle* of implicit obedience to the inſtructions of his conſtituents. He had faithfully endeavoured to do them the utmoſt ſervice, and to maintain their intereſts even againſt their opinions. To be pleaſed with that ſervice, he told them, was *their* affair, not *his*. He had not looked to the flaſh of the day. He knew that he had been choſen, in his place, along with others, *to be a pillar of the ſtate, and not a weather-cock on the top of the edifice, exalted for his levity and verſatility, and of no uſe but to indicate the ſhiftings of every faſhionable gale.* He had voted for conceſſions in favour of Ireland, on the very ſame principles that he had voted for conceſſions in favor of America. He had alſo given his ſupport to lord BEAUCHAMP's bill for reforming the law concerning im-

 nment,

priſonment, though his conſtituents, from a miſtaken idea of its being injurious to credit, had petitioned againſt that reform.* As to the charge brought againſt him for his concurrence in the repeal of the penal laws againſt Roman catholics, he ſaid it was a calumny fitter to be ſcrawled with the midnight chalk of incendiaries, with "No popery," on walls and doors of devoted houſes, than to be mentioned in any civilized company. Yet he entered into a full refutation of it, and thus concluded his manly appeal to the candour and good ſenſe of the meeting:

"Gentlemen, I do not here ſtand before you, accuſed of venality, or of neglect of duty. It is not ſaid, that, in the long period of my ſervice, I have, in a ſingle inſtance, ſacrificed the ſlighteſt of your intereſts to my ambition or to my fortune. It is not alledged, that to gratify any anger, or revenge of my own, or of my party, I have had a ſhare in wronging or oppreſſing any deſcription of men, or any man in any deſcription. No! the charges againſt me, are all of one kind, that I have puſhed the principles of general juſtice and benevolence too far; further than

* In order to ſhew that the counting-houſe had no alliance with the jail, Mr. BURKE mentioned Mr. HOWARD'S account of the few priſoners for debt that he found in Holland; and thence took occaſion to pay the due tribute of praiſe to that gentleman's humane exertions. "I cannot name him," ſaid the orator, "without remarking that his labours and writings have done much to open the eyes and hearts of mankind. He has viſited all Europe,—not to ſurvey the ſumptuouſneſs of palaces, or the ſtatelineſs of temples; not to make accurate meaſurements of the remains of antient grandeur, nor to form a ſcale of the curioſity of modern art; not to collect medals, or collate manuſcripts;—but to dive into the depths of dungeons; to plunge into the infection of hoſpitals; to ſurvey the manſions of ſorrow and pain; to take the gage and dimenſions of miſery, depreſſion and contempt; to remember the forgotten, to attend to the neglected, to viſit the forſaken, and to compare and collate the diſtreſſes of all men in all countries. His plan is original, and it is as full of genius as it is of humanity. It was a voyage of diſcovery—a circumnavigation of charity." The beauty of this panegyric is conſiderably heightened by our conviction of its juſtice.

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a cautious policy would warrant; and further than the opinions of many would go along with me.—In every accident which may happen through life, in pain, in ſorrow, in depreſſion, and diſtreſs---I will call to mind this accuſation, and be comforted. Gentlemen, I ſubmit the whole to your judgment. * * * If this company ſhould think it adviſeable for me to withdraw, I ſhall reſpectfully retire: if you think otherwiſe, I ſhall go directly to the Council-houſe and to the 'Change, and without a moment's delay begin my canvaſs."

As the meeting conſiſted chiefly of Mr. BURKE's friends, they came to ſeveral reſolutions, warmly approving of his eminent ſervices, and aſſuring him of their full and ſtrenuous ſupport. The buſineſs being over, he went to the Exchange, and offered himſelf as a candidate in the uſual manner. Thoſe, who had eſpouſed his cauſe, endeavoured by their zeal and by their exertions to maintain a ſpirited ſtruggle with the ſuperior numbers of his opponents---but in vain. During the conteſt, intelligence was brought him while on the huſtings, that one of the candidates had juſt died---" This," ſaid he, moralizing on the ſudden event, " ſhews us what ſhadows we are, and what ſhadows we purſue." He declined a continuance of the poll, very candidly informing the citizens at the ſame time, that it would have been far more agreeable to him never to have been the object of their choice, than to be rejected after trial. He then went down to Malton, where he was once more choſen, and which borough he continued to repreſent till he finally withdrew from parliament. He never after made any attempt to regain the confidence of the electors of Briſtol, though a ſort of connecting link between him and them was kept up by the appointment of his brother, Mr. RICHARD BURKE, to the recordership of that city, on the death of Mr.

DUNNING [lord ASHBURTON.] Some ſtaunch and reſpectable friends were always ready to teſtify their eſteem for him, till the unhappy period, when his flagrant deſertion of thoſe principles which had once been his pride and glory,---when his ſhameful compromiſe with the tools of arbitrary power,---when his acceptance of a paltry bribe at the very time that nature denied him the power of enjoying it,---in ſhort, when his ribbald invectives againſt the aſſertors of civil and religious liberty, rent aſunder all the bonds of generous attachment, and made him an object of juſt abhorrence to every man of honour and virtue.

It was not only at Briſtol, but at the huſtings in Covent Garden, that Mr. BURKE experienced no ſmall mortification from the ſlanderous report of his attachment to popery. His friend, Mr. FOX, was then engaged in a very ſharp conteſt with the earl of LINCOLN, in favour of whom all the weight, power, and influence of the court were fully exerted. Mr. BURKE, having at that time a vote for Weſtminſter, went to give it to his friend; but was challenged as a papiſt. Lord LINCOLN's mob inſiſted on his being ſworn, and nothing for a few minutes could be heard but loud cries of "*tip him the long oath*---TIP HIM THE LONG OATH"---It was neceſſary to comply; and Mr. BURKE, who of all men had the leaſt command of his paſſions, no ſooner kiſſed the book than he flung it with the moſt furious indignation among the populace. This, however, was not the only inſtance of his venting his rage upon a poor book, when its contents or the uſe made of it happened to irritate him. In a debate on a grant for the ordinary and extraordinary ſervices of the navy in February 1778, he was ſo far hurried beyond the bounds of decorum, as to throw the book of eſtimates at the treaſury bench, exclaiming, that it was treating the houſe with the utmoſt contempt,

tempt, to preſent them with a fine gilt book of eſtimates, calculated to a farthing, for purpoſes to which the money granted was never meant to be applied. The houſe ſmiled at this new rhetorical flouriſh, the violence of the geſture having innocently ſpent itſelf in knocking down the candle, and warning Mr. WELBORE ELLIS to take care of his ſhins. At another time, Mr. BURKE's quick ſenſe of indignity diſcovered itſelf by flight. He had juſt riſen with ſome papers in his hand, on the ſubject of which he intended to make a motion, when a rough-hewn member, who had no ear for the charms of eloquence, rudely ſtarted up, and ſaid, " Mr. Speaker, I hope the honourable gentleman does not mean to read that large bundle of papers, and to *bore* us with a long ſpeech into the bargain."---Mr. BURKE was ſo ſwoln, or rather ſo nearly ſuffocated with rage, as to be at the inſtant incapable of utterance, and abſolutely ran out of the houſe. On this occaſion GEORGE SELWYN remarked, that it was the only time he ever ſaw the fable realized---*a lion put to flight by the braying of an aſs!*

Though the elections had turned out very much in favour of the court, as appeared by the diviſions on the choice of a new ſpeaker, [Mr. CORNWALL] and on the addreſs, yet the oppoſition did not loſe courage. They thought that a ſyſtem founded in error and in injuſtice, ſupported by fallacy and corruption, and tending alike to exhauſt the vital and commercial reſources of the nation, could not be of much longer continuance. The commencement of hoſtilities againſt the Dutch afforded Mr. BURKE a new ſubject of declamation on the arrogance, the raſhneſs, the frenzy of the miniſter, in provoking an old ally to join the confederacy of Great Brita[illegible]mies. Lord NORTH, however, withſtood [illegible]mendous batteries of the ROCK-

ROCKINGHAM party, till the voice of the people made itſelf heard at laſt, and with its thunders ſhook all the bulwarks of venality. In the beginning of the year 1782, his lordſhip began to feel that his power was tottering; and though he carried ſeveral queſtions of ſome moment relating to the eſtimates, the ſupplies, and the neceſſity of a new loan of thirteen millions and a half, with large majorities in the houſe of common, yet in all debates introduced by the oppoſition for the avowed purpoſe of condemning the conduct of the war, the number of thoſe, who voted for the exculpation of the miniſtry, decreaſed every day. A motion of cenſure on the firſt lord of the admiralty, brought forward by Mr. Fox, ſoon after the Chriſtmas receſs, was rejected by a majority of only 22; and even that majority did not continue, but was reduced to 19, on the renewal of the ſame motion in ſubſtance, though a little varied in form, on the twentieth of February. Lord GEORGE GERMAINE ſeemed to ſhrink from ſimilar attacks on himſelf, by reſigning the ſeals of his office to Mr. WELBORE ELLIS, and ſeeking a retreat in the houſe of lords. On the twenty ſecond of February, general CONWAY moved for an addreſs to the king, earneſtly imploring his majeſty to liſten to the humble prayer and advice of his faithful commons, "that the war on the continent might no longer be purſued, for the impracticable purpoſe of reducing that country to obedience by force." This was oppoſed in a long and ſilly ſpeech by the new ſecretary for the American department, whom Mr. BURKE, in reply, overwhelmed with diſdain and ridicule. "This war," Mr. BURKE ſaid, "had been moſt amazingly fertile in the growth of new ſtateſmen. The right honourable gentleman was, indeed, an old member, but a young ſecretary. Having, however, ſtudied at the feet of GAMALIEL,

GAMALIEL, he had entered into the full poſſeſſion of all parliamentary qualifications, by which his predeceſſor had been ſo conſpicuouſly diſtinguiſhed;---the ſame attachments, the ſame antipathies, the ſame extravagant deluſion, the ſame wild phantoms of the brain marked the right honourable gentleman as the true miniſterial heir or reſiduary legatee of the noble viſcount: and notwithſtanding the metamorphoſis he had recently undergone, he was ſo truly the ſame thing in the ſame place, that juſtly might it be ſaid of him, *alter et idem naſcitur*. Being of the caterpillar ſpecies, he had remained the deſtined time within the ſoft and ſilken folds of a lucrative employment, till having burſt his ligaments, he fluttered forth the butterfly miniſter of the day." When the houſe divided, after a long debate, the miniſtry had ſtill a majority,---but a majority of ONE only, ſo that *the pyramidal edifice of miniſterial power* was now ſaid, *by a marvellous and magical inverſion, to reſt upon its apex*. Five days after, the queſtion was revived in a new form, declaring it to be the opinion of the houſe, " that a farther proſecution of offenſive war againſt America would, under preſent circumſtances, be the means of weakening the efforts of this country againſt her European enemies, and tend to increaſe the mutual enmity ſo fatal to the intereſts both of Great Britain and America." This was carried without a diviſion. After a variety of other very pointed attacks, the laſt blow was intended to be ſtruck on the nineteenth of March, according to previous notice given by the earl of SURRY; but when his lordſhip was about to riſe, lord NORTH addreſſed himſelf to the ſpeaker, and ſaid, that " as he underſtood the object of the noble lord's motion to be the removal of miniſters, he wiſhed to prevent the neceſſity of giving the houſe farther trouble by an explicit declaration, that his majeſty

jeſty had come to a determination to make an entire change of adminiſtration: and he and his colleagues only retained their official ſituation till other miniſters were appointed to occupy their places." Upon this lord SURRY conſented to wave his motion; and, in nine days after, the new arrangement was announced to the houſe and to the public at large, who received it with applauſe.

It was with great reluctance, and from the impulſe of abſolute neceſſity, that the *court cabal* could concur in re-placing the marquis of ROCKINGHAM at the head of the treaſury. They knew his integrity, his firmneſs, the ſtrength of his family connections, and the ſteady attachment of his whole party, which would ſecure him from all dependence on the *mercenary Swiſs* of St. James's. It always has been, and ever muſt be, the wiſh of ſuch a cabal to have for miniſter ſome perſon of no conſequence but what he derives from them,---a mere cipher, of no numerical value, except when they think proper to place one or more units before it. They would have willingly made the earl of SHELBURNE miniſter; but he very prudently gave way to the marquis of ROCKINGHAM, under whom lord JOHN CAVENDISH was to act as chancellor of the exchequer. The earl of SHELBURNE and Mr. FOX were nominated ſecretaries of ſtate: lord CAMDEN was appointed preſident of the council: lord THURLOW was continued in the poſſeſſion of the great ſeal; and the duke of GRAFTON was re-inſtated as lord privy ſeal: admiral KEPPEL, then created a viſcount, was placed at the head of the admiralty; general CONWAY, of the army; and the duke of RICHMOND, of the ordnance: the duke of PORTLAND ſucceeded lord CARLISLE as lord lieutenant of Ireland: colonel BARRE, the earl of SHELBURNE's friend, was made treaſurer of the navy; and the

ſtill

ſtill more lucrative office of paymaſter of the forces was given to Mr. BURKE. No man had certainly deſerved ſuch an appointment better by the ardor and fidelity of his paſt ſervices: no man had contributed more to render the fallen miniſter hateful and ridiculous in the eyes of the whole nation: no man had ſo conſtantly expoſed the imbecility of his meaſures while in office; and none had goaded him with ſuch keenneſs of ſarcaſtic reproach at the very moment of his intended retreat from the treaſury bench. "I have lately," ſaid Mr. BURKE, "been taking a view of the bleſſed fruits of the noble lord's adminiſtration; and I find we are already loaden with ten new taxes, namely, beer, wine, ſoap, leather, houſes, coaches, poſt-chaiſes, poſt-horſes, ſtamps, and ſervants.---We are taxed if we ride, or if we walk; if we ſtay at home, or if we go abroad; if we are in ſervice, or if we are maſters; if we drink wine, or if we drink beer. In the courſe of the noble lord's adminiſtration, we have expended one hundred millions of money, and ſacrificed one hundred thouſand lives; and all this without producing in return the leaſt benefit to the nation. On the contrary, the nation has been, in conſequence of the wretched miſconduct of the miniſter, deprived of thirteen colonies, to which may be added the loſs of Senegal, Penſacola, Minorca, and ſome of our beſt Weſt India iſlands. Yet the noble lord has told us, *that he would continue in office out of gratitude to the people.*---Gratitude!---The noble lord's gratitude!---He undoubtedly owes much gratitude to his ſovereign, for wiſhing to keep a miniſter through whom he has loſt ſo many valuable dominions. The noble lord alſo owes much gratitude to the public; but it reſembles that of another fallen angel like himſelf deſcribed by the poet;

"The debt immenſe of endleſs gratitude,
"So [illegible] owes!"

"So

"So with the noble lord, his debt immenſe of gratitude is endleſs, and can never be diſcharged; and therefore he has preſumed to fly in the face of the nation, and to inſult us with ſuch language as ought to be reprobated by every man in the houſe, who has a ſenſe of the decency due to parliament from the noble lord; and how ill it became him, of all men, to ſay that *he would continue in office out of gratitude.*" It is, no doubt, from the very ſame motive that Mr. PITT retains his place, becauſe he can never diſcharge *the debt immenſe of his endleſs gratitude.* Lord NORTH only laid on ten new taxes: the abſtract, the bare liſt of Mr. PITT's taxes furniſhes matter for a ſixpenny pamphlet. During lord NORTH's adminiſtration we had only expended one hundred millions of money: Mr. PITT has already added double that ſum to the national debt. The lives then ſacrificed did not exceed, even in Mr. BURKE's eſtimate, one hundred thouſand: but the havoc lately made in the human race is beyond all calculation---Europe has been deluged with blood; and both the Indies ſtill echo with the groans of our expiring fellow-creatures! Yet, Mr. PITT continues in office, *out of gratitude!*

The conduct of the marquis of ROCKINGHAM and his friends, as ſoon as the reins of government were put into their hands, perfectly correſponded with the generous declaration then made by Mr. FOX, "that not an hour ſhould be loſt in giving the public the ſtrongeſt proofs that his majeſty's miniſters were ſincerely determined to make ſuch reforms as ſhould be neceſſary, and to enforce that ſyſtem which they had repeatedly called for when not in place." Mr. BURKE's plan of political œconomy took the lead among a variety of popular meaſures, which had been before recommended in vain, but were now revived and paſſed with applauſe. By that plan, when it received the ſanction of the legiſlature, the board of trade and the board of works,

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with the great wardrobe, were aboliſhed, together with the office of American ſecretary of ſtate, the offices of treaſurer of the chamber, cofferer of the houſehould, the lords of police in Scotland, the paymaſter of the penſions, the maſter of the harriers, the maſter of the ſtag-hounds, and ſix clerks of the board of green-cloth. Proviſion alſo was made to enable his maje y to borrow a ſum for the liquidation of a new arrear of 300,000l. by a tax on ſalaries and penſions. With what pleaſure ſhould we add, as a proof of Mr. BURKE's real patriotiſm and diſintereſtedneſs, that his bill of retrenchments was followed by another for the regulation of his own office, the principal object of which was to prevent the poſſibility of any balance accumulating in the hands of the paymaſter! But, unfortunately, Mr. BURKE *did not practiſe what he preached:* his accounts remain unſettled at the exchequer to this day; nor did Mr. PITT, as chancellor, ceaſe to teaze him with importunate letters on that ſubject, till a political compromiſe, not very honourable to either of the parties, took place between them about the cloſe of the year 1789.

At a period ſo auſpicious to liberty as the marquis of ROCKINGHAM's re-entrance into office, two bills were paſſed for diſqualifying revenue officers from voting in the election of members of parliament, and for rendering contractors incapable of ſitting in the houſe of commons. Many other plans of reform were in the contemplation of the new miniſtry; but as the lateneſs of the ſeaſon did not afford time for completing and perfecting them, various reſolutions were moved by the chancellor of the exchequer, and agreed to, for entering upon the conſideration of thoſe ſubjects early in the next ſeſſion. In the midſt of theſe truly laudable deſigns of parliament to ſecure its

own independence, to heal the breaches of the conſtitution, and to relieve the burthens of the people, an heavy calamity was approaching, which again darkened the proſpect, that had ſo happily opened to the nation. This was the death of the marquis of ROCKINGHAM, whoſe health had been ſome time gradually declining, and at length ſunk under the increaſing weight of public cares and buſineſs. The eloquent defender of his meaſures when living, wrote the following inſcription for the mauſoleum which has been erected to his memory in Wentworth park, and in which earl FITZWILLIAM has alſo placed a buſt of the writer. We give the inſcription in its firſt ſhape, as it came wet and warm from Mr. BURKE's heart. He afterwards retouched, but perhaps without improving it.

" CHARLES, MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM,—

" A ſtateſman, in whom conſtancy, fidelity, ſincerity, and directneſs, were the ſole inſtruments of his policy. His virtues were his arts.

" A clear, ſound, unadulterated ſenſe, not perplexed with intricate deſign, or diſturbed by ungoverned paſſion, gave conſiſtency, dignity, and effect to all his meaſures. In oppoſition, he reſpected the principles of government; in adminiſtration, he provided for the liberties of the people. He employed his moments of power in realizing every thing which he had propoſed in a popular ſituation. This was the diſtinguiſhing mark of his conduct. After twenty four years of ſervice to the public, in a critical and trying time, he left no debt of juſt expectation unſatisfied.

" By his prudence and patience, he brought together a party, which it was the great object of his labours to render permanent, not as an inſtrument of ambition, but as a living depoſitary of principle.

" The virtues of his public and private life were not, in him, of different characters. It was the ſame feeling, benevolent, liberal mind, which, in the internal relations of life, conciliated the unfeigned love of thoſe who ſee men as they are, which made him an inflexible patriot. He was devoted to the cauſe of liberty, not becauſe he was haughty and intractable, but becauſe he was beneficent and humane.

" Let his ſucceſſors, who from this houſe behold this monument, reflect that their conduct will make it their glory, or their reproach. Let them be perſuaded that ſimilarity of manners, not proximity of blood, gives them an intereſt in this ſtatue.

" REMEMBER. RESEMBLE. PERSEVERE."

Surely

Surely the admirable leſſon contained in this laſt paragraph muſt have been totally obliterated from Mr. BURKE's mind, when he exerted all his powers of perſuaſion to make the heir of the *inflexible patriot* bend and ſtoop, and coaleſce with, and become the *cat's-paw* of, ſuch a triumvirate as CHARLES JENKINSON, HENRY DUNDAS, and WILLIAM PITT!

The death of the marquis at that critical period may, indeed, be juſtly regarded as a great national misfortune. No cordial union ſubſiſted among the remaining members of that cabinet which he had formed. His mild, unaſſuming, conciliating manners had hitherto ſoothed the voice of diſcord, and prevented the claſh of perſonal ambition. But theſe paſſions burſt forth with unreſtrained violence at his deceaſe. The key-ſtone of the political arch being deſtroyed, ſays a figurative writer, all the heterogeneous bodies of which it was compoſed, loſt their tenacity, and fell into heaps of jarring materials, ſuddenly bereft of the power of adheſion.

Birth, fortune, family intereſt, and an extenſive chain of powerful connections now concurred to place the duke of PORTLAND at the head of the Whig party. But nature had certainly denied him the talents neceſſary for ſo elevated a ſtation. The aſpiring mind of the earl of SHELBURNE could not endure the idea of having a man of ſuch inferior abilities, ſuch contracted views, ſuch a ſhallowneſs of political knowledge as the duke of PORTLAND, raiſed above lord CHATHAM's well-trained pupil, in the ſphere of public command. On the morning after the death of the marquis, which happened on the firſt of July 1782, the earl waited upon the king with an account of that event, and was induced by too great a confidence in his own ſtrength and in the aſſurances given him, to accept of the office

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of firſt lord commiſſioner of the treaſury. By this ſtep he incurred no ſmall reproach for the want of candour, in not previouſly communicating his intention to his colleague, Mr. Fox; and he alſo rendered his ſagacity very queſtionable, as the experience of a CHATHAM might have taught him the inſecurity of all reliance on court promiſes. His promotion gave ſuch offence to Mr. FOX, Mr. BURKE, lord JOHN CAVENDISH, and ſome other of the duke of PORTLAND's friends, that they, as well as his grace, immediately reſigned, and commenced open hoſtilities with their ſucceſſors. Mr. PITT came forward, as chancellor of the exchequer; Mr. T. TOWNSEND and lord GRANTHAM were appointed ſecretaries of ſtate; colonel BARRE was removed to the pay-office, and left the treaſurerſhip of the navy for Mr. DUNDAS; and earl TEMPLE ſucceeded the duke of PORTLAND in the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland.

In the courſe of the warm and violent altercations which were renewed at the commencement of the next ſeſſion, between the contending parties, the old ex-miniſter, lord NORTH, and the numerous train of his adherents, might be called a ſort of *armed neutrality*, of ſtrength ſufficient to incline the ſcale of victory on whatever ſide they might think proper to eſpouſe. They could not long remain in a fluctuating or indeciſive ſtate. The progreſs of the negociations for peace was a ſignal to the great leaders to prepare for ſuch a diſcuſſion as muſt determine the ſtability of the new miniſters. It might then be ſaid, that the treaty with foreign powers did not require greater exertions of ſkill and addreſs than were diſplayed at home in bringing about a junction of oppoſite parties. The late *ſingle-ſpeech* HAMILTON, as he was called, uſed to deſcribe the intrigues of that period in the following manner, where ſome truth is blended with a great deal of the malignant wit for which he was remarkable. "Lord NOTH's intereſt,"

intereſt," ſaid he, "was put up for ſale *by auction*; and the two *bidders* were the earl of SHELBURNE and Mr. FOX. The earl offered *a ſhare* in adminiſtration; but did not define what that ſhare was to be: Mr. Fox offered *an equal ſhare*; and the grand article was *knocked down* to him. BURKE and LOUGHBOROUGH were not, indeed, *puffers* at this ſale; but acted as *barkers* at the door of the auction-room, and ran after *gentlemen* to make them *walk in*, and bid for a great variety of ſmaller *lots*." Beſides the alluring offer of *equality*, it is very likely that lord NORTH thought it far ſafer and more deſirable to take ſhelter from popular odium, and parliamentary attacks, under the ſtrong batteries of a FOX, a SHERIDAN, and a BURKE, than under thoſe of a PITT and a SHELBURNE.

The immediate effects of the coalition were flattering to the views of the united parties, by driving their adverſaries from the ſeat of power; but unhappily that meaſure inflicted an almoſt incurable wound on public confidence, and furniſhed the *court cabal* with a plauſible excuſe for the employment of any means to bring about a new change,---to reſcue their king, as they pretended, and expel from the palace the miniſters who had taken it by ſtorm. An opportunity preſented itſelf in the courſe of the next ſeſſion, which the cabal ſeized with eagerneſs and effect. In the mean time all the higher departments of the ſtate were filled by the members of the coalition. The duke of PORTLAND was placed at the head of the treaſury, and lord KEPPEL at that of the admiralty. Lord JOHN CAVENDISH reſumed his office as chancellor of the exchequer. Lord NORTH and Mr. FOX were appointed ſecretaries of ſtate. Mr. SHERIDAN, who had before acted as under-ſecretary to the latter, now obtained the higher office of ſecretary to the treaſury. He had been hitherto admired only

only for his wit; but he ſoon diſplayed talents which placed him on a level with the greateſt orators of the age. Lord STORMONT was made preſident of the council: the privy ſeal was given to lord CARLISLE; and lord NORTHINGTON ſuperſeded earl TEMPLE in the vice-royalty of Ireland. The principal agents in bringing about, or rather in completing the coalition, lord LOUGHBOROUGH and Mr. BURKE, were not forgotten, the former being nominated firſt lord commiſſioner of the great ſeal, and the latter being re-inſtated in the pay-office.

A very general clamour was raiſed againſt the coalition both in parliament and out of it. The moſt candid and ſatisfactory defence of that meaſure was made by Mr. SHERIDAN at a ſubſequent period. He confeſſed, "that, when the idea of a coalition with lord NORTH was firſt ſtarted, he had adviſed his right honourable friend not to accept of it; and his reaſon was this:---his right honourable friend had great popularity, which he might loſe by a coalition; reſpectable friends whom he might diſguſt; and prejudices of the ſtrongeſt nature to combat. He made no doubt but ſimilar objections occurred to the friends of the noble lord, and that they were urged to him, in order to diſſuade him from coaleſcing with his right honourable friend. Mutual diffidence between men long accuſtomed to oppoſe one another might naturally be expected. The prejudices of the public alſo concurred to prevent this coalition. The middling claſs of people, for whom he had the higheſt reſpect, and to whom, ſooner than to the great, the houſe of commons muſt look for ſupport in every emergency, were not certainly the beſt qualified to judge of nice and refined points of politics: accuſtomed to judge of meaſures by men, he apprehended that they would give themſelves no time to examine the principles, motives, and grounds of a coalition; but condemn

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it on its firſt appearance, merely becauſe it was compoſed of men who had long been political enemies. On theſe grounds, full of apprehenſion for the character of his right honourable friend, he moſt certainly had given him his advice againſt a coalition. But when the neceſſities of the times at laſt pointed it out as the only means of ſalvation to this country; and when, from the opportunities he had had of ſeeing the noble lord and his friends, he was fully convinced of the honour, fairneſs, openneſs, and ſteadineſs of their conduct; not only he did not condemn the coalition,--- but he rejoiced that it had taken place even in ſpite of his own advice. Diffidence ſoon gave way to the moſt perfect reliance on the honour of the noble lord, and on that of his friends, and their ſteady adherence to thoſe principles which had been laid down as the baſis of the coalition. It was unneceſſary, therefore, after ſaying this, that he ſhould tell the houſe his confidence in his right honourable friend had not felt the ſmalleſt diminution: fully acquainted with his character, he knew that he looked down with indifference, if not with contempt, on riches, places, and dignities, as things by no means neceſſary to his happineſs: it was his right honourable friend's ambition to deſerve and preſerve the eſteem, and confidence of his friends; and he was ſure that he would ſacrifice neither, for all that place and emolument could beſtow upon him. Mr. Fox's declaration on the ſame ſubject did him honour. He ſaid, "his friendſhips were eternal, his enmities were not ſo. *Amicitiæ ſempiternæ, inimicitiæ placabiles.*" But Mr. BURKE never appeared to greater diſadvantage, as an orator, than in his apology for the coalition, which he had been moſt zealous to promote. He avoided that topic as much as poſſible; and when he did ſpeak upon it, his uſual copiouſneſs of language, his fertility of plauſible excuſes, even his impoſing, his

reſcue of the greateſt number of the human race that ever were ſo grievouſly oppreſſed, from the greateſt tyranny that ever was exerciſed, has fallen to the lot of abilities and diſpoſitions equal to the taſk;---that it has fallen to one who has the enlargement to comprehend, the ſpirit to undertake, and the eloquence to ſupport, ſo great a meaſure of hazardous benevolence. His ſpirit is not owing to his ignorance of the ſtate of men and things: he well knows what ſnares are ſpread about his path, from perſonal animoſity, from court intrigues, and poſſibly from popular deluſion: but he has put to hazard his eaſe, his ſecurity, his intereſt, his power, even his darling popularity, for the benefit of a people whom he has never ſeen. This is the road that all heroes have trod before him. He is traduced and abuſed for his ſuppoſed motives. He will remember, that obloquy is a neceſſary ingredient in the compoſition of all true glory: he will remember, that it was not only in the Roman cuſtoms, but it is in the nature and conſtitution of things, that calumny and abuſe are eſſential parts of triumph. Theſe thoughts will ſupport a mind, which only exiſts for honour, under the burthen of temporary reproach. He is doing indeed a great good; ſuch as rarely falls to the lot, and almoſt as rarely coincides with the deſires, of any man. Let him uſe his time. Let him give the whole length of the reins to his benevolence. He is now on a great eminence where the eyes of mankind are turned to him. He may live long---he may do much. But here is the ſummit. He never can exceed what he does this day.

"He has faults; but they are faults that, though they may in a ſmall degree tarniſh the luſtre, and ſometimes impede the march of his abilities, have nothing in them to extinguiſh the fire of great virtues. In thoſe faults there is no mixture of deceit, of hypocriſy, of pride, of ferocity, of complexional deſpotiſm,

or want of feeling for the diſtreſſes of mankind. His are faults which might exiſt in a deſcendant of HENRY the fourth of France, as they did exiſt in that father of his country. HENRY IV. wiſhed that he might live to ſee a fowl in the pot of every peaſant of his kingdom. That ſentiment of homely benevolence was worth all the ſplendid ſayings that are recorded of kings. But he wiſhed, perhaps, for more than could be obtained, and the goodneſs of the man exceeded the power of the king. But this gentleman, a ſubject, may this day ſay this at leaſt, with truth, *that he ſecures the rice in his pot to every man in India.* A poet of antiquity thought it one of the firſt diſtinctions to a prince whom he meant to celebrate, that, through a long ſucceſſion of generations, he had been the progenitor of an able and virtuous citizen, who by force of the arts of peace, had corrected governments of oppreſſion, and ſuppreſſed wars of rapine.

" Indole proh! quanta juvenis, quantumque daturus
" Auſoniæ populis ventura in ſæcula civem!
" Ille ſuper Gangem, ſuper exaudîtus et Indos,
" Implebit terras voce; et furialia bella
" Fulmine compeſcet linguæ.——

" This was what was ſaid of the predeceſſor of the only perſon to whoſe eloquence it does not wrong that of the mover of this bill to be compared. But the *Ganges* and the *Indus* are the patrimony of the fame of my honourable friend, and not of CICERO. I confeſs, I anticipate with joy the reward of thoſe, whoſe whole conſequence, power, and authority, exiſt only for the benefit of mankind; and I carry my mind to all the people, and all the names and deſcriptions, that, relieved by this bill, will bleſs the labours of this parliament, and the confidence which the beſt houſe of commons has given to him who the beſt deſerves it. The little cavils of party will not be heard, where freedom and happineſs will be felt. There is not a tongue, a nation, or religion in India,

India, which will not bleſs the preſiding care and manly beneficence of this houſe, and of him who propoſes to you this great work. Your names will never be ſeparated before the throne of the Divine Goodneſs, in whatever language, or with whatever rites, pardon is aſked for ſin, and reward for thoſe who imitate the Godhead in his univerſal bounty to his creatures, Theſe honours you deſerve, and they will ſurely be paid, when all the jargon of influence, and party, and patronage, are ſwept into oblivion."

Mr. BURKE confeſſed that this panegyric was "the fruit of much meditation,---the reſult of the obſervation of near twenty years." What then muſt we think of his ſentiments and conduct, who, a few years after, could carry about with him, under the robe of friendſhip, a poiſoned dagger, and aim a deadly ſtab in the dark at the character of the patriot and philanthropiſt whom he had ſo highly and ſo deſervedly praiſed? With what abhorrence muſt we contraſt with thoſe eulogies the ſatanic epiſtle to the duke of PORTLAND,---that unparalleled effuſion of ſlander, deceit, baſeneſs, and malignity; which, as it ſtands without precedent, ſo we hope, for the honour of human nature, it will for ever remain without imitation!

The fate of Mr. Fox's India bill is well known. It baffled all the efforts of intrigue, corruption, court influence, miſrepreſentation, and artifice, in the houſe of commons: but it was arreſted in its progreſs through the houſe of lords by means the moſt extraordinary, and the moſt oppoſite to the ſpirit of the Britiſh conſtitution. Cards were ſent to ſome members of the upper houſe, ſtating, "that his majeſty allowed earl TEMPLE to ſay, that whoever voted for the India bill was not only *not his friend*, but would be conſidered by him as *his enemy*. And if theſe were not ſtrong enough, earl TEMPLE might uſe whatever words he might deem

deem ſtronger or more to the purpoſe." It is impoſſible to reprobate with ſufficient ſeverity ſo daring a libel on the king,---ſo groſs an inſult on the ancient and characteriſtic independence of the Britiſh peerage,---ſo flagrant an abuſe of the royal name to bias the deliberations of the ſenate,---ſuch a bare-faced attempt to make his majeſty's alledged opinion a rule for directing the votes of thoſe who ſhould only attend to their conſciences and conviction, or rather to make the voice of parliament the mere mechanical echo of a *back-ſtairs* mandate!---The meſſage, however, had the deſigned effect; and a bill framed for the happineſs of thirty millions of our fellow-creatures, was, to uſe Mr. Fox's bold figure, *ſtrangled* in the very moment of expected ſucceſs and triumph *by an infamous ſtring of bedchamber janiſſaries.* The motion for its rejection, on the 17th of December, was carried by a majority of 95 againſt 76. At midnight on the 18th a ſpecial meſſenger was ſent to the ſecretaries of ſtate, with an order in the king's name to render up the ſeals of their offices, and mentioning at the ſame time that it was the royal pleaſure they ſhould be delivered to him by the under-ſecretaries, as a perſonal interview would be diſagreeable. A ſimilar order was ſent to the commiſſioners of the great ſeal; and early the next morning letters of diſmiſſion, ſigned "TEMPLE," were ſent to the other members of the cabinet. Lord SHELBURNE was left out of the new arrangement, and Mr. PITT was declared firſt lord of the treaſury and chancellor of the exchequer. To complete the revolution thus brought about by the *cabal*, after a ſeries of ſtruggles between Mr. Fox's majority in the houſe of commons and thoſe *reptiles*, as he called them, *that burrowed under the throne*, parliament was diſſolved on the twenty-fifth of March 1784, and a new one convened to meet on the eighteenth of May.

So

So widely diffuſed was the ſpirit of deluſion at that time, ſo ſucceſsful were the efforts of fallacy and impoſture, that the elections in moſt parts of the kingdom were highly flattering to the new miniſtry, and enabled them to aſſume a tone of triumph in the ſpeech from the throne. Much ſatisfaction was expreſſed at meeting parliament, after having recurred in ſo important a moment to the ſenſe of the people:---his majeſty entertained a juſt and confident reliance, that the aſſembly before him was animated with the ſame ſentiments of loyalty, and the ſame attachment to the conſtitution, which had been ſo fully manifeſted in every part of the kingdom:---and, towards the cloſe of the ſpeech, the king was ſaid to have no wiſh but to conſult the proſperity of his people, by a conſtant attention to every object of national concern, by an uniform adherence to the true principles of our free conſtitution, and *by ſupporting and maintaining in their juſt balance the rights and privileges of every branch of the legiſlature.* An addreſs reverberating thoſe ſentiments, and thanking his majeſty for the late diſſolution, was carried by a majority of 282 againſt 114.

Though ſuch a diviſion too clearly demonſtrated the weakneſs of the oppoſition, in point of numbers, to leave any hope of ſucceſs in a renewed conteſt on the ſame ſubject, yet Mr. BURKE gave notice, a few days after, that he ſhould bring forward a propoſition upon the king's ſpeech and addreſs on the Wedneſday ſe'ennight following. He deferred it till the fourteenth of June, when, without having previouſly conſulted any of his party, he laid his ſentiments before the houſe in the form of ſtrictures, and introduced them with a ſpeech on the propriety of re-conſidering the late proceedings. " A parliament," he ſaid, " had been ſenenced, condemned, and executed, and no notice had yet been taken

taken of ſo great and extraordinary an event! If the meaneſt ſubject in the land had died ſuddenly, or by violent means, an inqueſt would have taken cognizance of the caſe, and inquired into the cauſes of his death; but the parliament of Great Britain had been put to a violent death, and no coroner had yet held an inqueſt on the body! No inquiry had been made whether it had been *felo de ſe*, or *jure cæſus!* Did the people then think the ſudden death of parliament was a ſubject too trifling for inquiry? Or did they think that all which might have been apprehended from ſuch a death, had periſhed with the parliament? He feared, alas! that the fatal conſequence of it would long ſurvive it, and be entailed on future parliaments! * * * * If the meaſures of the late parliament were unconſtitutional, they ought to be condemned and cenſured: if, on the other hand, they were ſtrictly conſtitutional, it was the more incumbent on the preſent houſe to defend and maintain them, as the laſt houſe was ſaid to have been put to death for having ſupported them."

After theſe and ſome other prefatory remarks, Mr. BURKE moved his ſtring of repreſentations to the throne, from which we ſhall ſelect a few, containing the moſt important facts, or ſuch incontrovertible principles as ſhould never be loſt ſight of by the repreſentatives of the people, but which Mr. BURKE ſeemed unhappily to have forgotten before the cloſe of his public career.

" Neceſſary reformations may hereafter require, as they have frequently done in former times, limitations, and abridgments, and, in ſome caſes, *an entire extinction of ſome branch of prerogative.*

" Whatever, by the manifeſtation of the royal diſpleaſure, tends to intimidate individual members from propoſing, or the houſe

houſe from receiving, debating, and paſſing bills, tends to prevent even the beginning of every reformation in the ſtate, and utterly deſtroys the deliberative capacity of parliament.

" It is a crooked and deſperate deſign, leading to miſchief, the extent of which no human wiſdom can foreſee, to attempt to form a prerogative party in the nation, to be reſorted to as occaſion ſhall require, in derogation from the authority of the commons of Great Britain in parliament aſſembled: it is a contrivance full of danger, for miniſters to ſet up the repreſentative and conſtituent bodies of the commons of this kingdom as two ſeparate and diſtinct powers, formed to counterpoiſe each other, leaving the preference in the hands of ſecret adviſers of the crown.

" It is fit that miniſters ſhould yield to parliament, and not that parliament ſhould be new modelled until it is fitted to their purpoſes. * * * It is the deference ſhewn to the opinion of the commons, when they diſſent from the ſervants of the crown, which alone can give authority to the proceedings of the houſe, when it concurs with their meaſures.

" During the courſe of the laſt ſeſſion a ſpirit of intrigue in the executive government broke out in a manner the moſt alarming. This evil was infinitely aggravated by the unauthorized, but not diſavowed uſe which has been made of his majeſty's name, for the purpoſe of the moſt unconſtitutional, corrupt, and diſhonourable influence on the minds of the members of parliament, that ever was practiſed in this kingdom. No attention, even to the exterior decorum, in the practice of corruption, and intimidation employed on peers, was obſerved; ſeveral peers were obliged under menaces to retract their declarations, and to recall their proxies.

"The houſe had not ſufficient evidence to enable them legally to puniſh this practice; but they had enough to caution them againſt all confidence in the authors and abettors of it. They performed their duty in humbly adviſing his majeſty againſt the employment of ſuch miniſters; but his majeſty was adviſed to keep thoſe miniſters, and to diſſolve that parliament. The houſe aware of the importance and urgency of its duty, with regard to the Britiſh intereſts in India, which were and are in the utmoſt diſorder, and in the utmoſt peril; moſt humbly requeſted his majeſty not to diſſolve the parliament during the courſe of their very critical proceedings on that ſubject. His majeſty's gracious condeſcenſion to that requeſt was conveyed in the royal faith, pledged to an houſe of parliament, and ſolemnly delivered from the throne. It was but a very few days after a committee had been, with the conſent and concurrence of the chancellor of the exchequer, appointed for an inquiry into certain accounts delivered to the houſe by the court of directors, and then actually engaged in that inquiry, that the miniſters, regardleſs of the aſſurance given from the crown to an houſe of commons, did diſſolve that parliament."

The other parts of Mr. BURKE's repreſentation were chiefly deſigned to ſhew the falſhood and diſingenuity of the attacks made on Mr. Fox's bill, as if it was an invaſion of prerogative, a creation of a fourth eſtate, a violation of charters, with all the other calumnies which had been propagated with ſo much induſtry and effect, and by means of which a generous, unſuſpecting people had been rendered the ductile dupes of miniſterial impoſtors. It is ſcarcely neceſſary to add, that the repreſentation was negatived without a diviſion; but it ſtill remains a faithful

a faithful record of ſound conſtitutional doctrines, and of the intrigues and deceptions practiſed by the *cabal* at that period. It is alſo a very good defence of Mr. Fox's bill, though the merits of that bill were afterwards more accurately diſplayed, in a compariſon with Mr. PITT's boaſted regulations, by Mr. SHERIDAN. This gentleman wrote his "Comparative Statement of the two Bills" during the debate on the Declaratory Act; then read it in his place; and it was ſoon publiſhed. There is no affectation of ornament,---no ſubtlety of reaſoning. Every thing is ſtated, as it ought to be, with ſimplicity, and preciſion; and all the illuſtrations are confined to facts.

Mr. BURKE's ſpeech, on the twenty eighth of February 1785, againſt charging the nabob of ARCOT's private debts to Europeans, on the revenues of the Carnatic, is another maſterpiece of political eloquence, though leſs intereſting to the Engliſh reader, from the diſtance of the ſcene of Indian abuſe. Yet the orator, with great ingenuity, ſtrives to rouze us from that indifference. The value of our intereſt in that ſcene, he tells us, is not decreaſed in proportion as it recedes from our view. "In our politics," he adds, "as in our common conduct, we ſhall be worſe than infants, if we do not put our ſenſes under the tuition of our judgment, and effectually cure ourſelves of that optical illuſion which makes a briar at our noſe of greater magnitude, than an oak at five hundred yards diſtance." This remark is followed by a very pointed attack on the miniſter, who had not leiſure to inquire into thoſe abuſes in India which were drawing off money by millions from the treaſures of this country, while he made a great buſtle about the moſt trifling retrenchments at home. "He ſuppoſes," ſays Mr. BURKE, "that he ſhall draw ſome reſource out of crumbs dropped from

the trenchers of penury; that ſomething ſhall be laid in ſtore from the ſhort allowance of revenue officers, overloaded with duty, and famiſhed for want of bread; by a reduction from officers who are at this very hour ready to batter the treaſury with what breaks through ſtone walls, for an *increaſe* of their appointments. From the marrowleſs bones of theſe ſkeleton eſtabliſhments, by the uſe of every ſort of cutting, and of every ſort of fretting tool, he flatters himſelf that he may chip and raſp an empirical alimentary powder, to diet into ſome ſimilitude of health and ſubſtance the languiſhing chimeras of fraudulent reformation."

The whole ſpeech glows with the ſame ſpirit, and is well calculated to diſplay the enormity of the frauds, oppreſſions and cruelties, which had been too long connived at in India. Mr. BURKE ſeems eager to pour upon them the ſtrong blaze of detection, before the miniſter could "let down his curtain, or the ſhades of eternal night ſhould veil our eaſtern dominions from our view." He expoſes the whole ſyſtem of colluſion, out of which this gigantic phantom of debt had riſen; and points out a particular inſtance of Mr. PITT's kindneſs to the parties, which he aſſerts had never been equalled by "all the acts and monuments in the records of peculation; by the conſolidated corruption of ages; by the patterns of exemplary plunder in the heroic times of Roman iniquity." He delineates at full length the portrait of PAUL BENFIELD, the chief claimant, the director and controller of the debt,---"a criminal," he ſays, "who long ſince ought to have fattened the region kites with his offal,---the old betrayer, inſulter, oppreſſor, and ſcourge of a country, [Tanjore] which had for years been an object of an unremitted, but unhappily an unequal ſtruggle, between the bounties of providence

providence to renovate, and the wickedneſs of mankind to deſtroy." His flaſhes of indignation are directed with no leſs vehemence at Mr. BENFIELD's agent and attorney, Mr. RICHARD ATKINSON, the grand contractor, whoſe name, he obſerves, would be well remembered as long as the records of the Britiſh treaſury, as long as the monumental debt of England ſhould endure. This man and his maſter had furniſhed the houſe of commons with many patterns of *true modern virtue*. The worn-out veteran, not content with entering into the duſty field of conteſt himſelf, had kept a ſort of public office, or counting-houſe, where the whole buſineſs of the laſt general election was managed. It was managed upon Indian principles, and for an Indian intereſt. "This," continues Mr. BURKE, "was the golden cup of abominations; this the chalice of the fornications of rapine, uſury, and oppreſſion, which was held out by the gorgeous eaſtern harlot; which ſo many of the people, ſo many of the nobles of this land, had drained to the very dregs. Do you think that no reckoning was to follow this lewd debauch? that no payment was to be demanded for this riot of public drunkenneſs and national proſtitution? Here! you have it here before you. The principal of the grand election manager muſt be indemnified: accordingly the claims of BENFIELD and his crew muſt be put above all inquiry." The vote of the houſe confirmed the truth of the orator's aſſertion.

After the plunderers and oppreſſors of India had been depicted in ſo many diverſified forms of guilt and horror, it was a matter of no ſmall aſtoniſhment to ſee Mr. BURKE come forward with the exhibition of a new monſter in the character of HASTINGS, whom he ſtiled "the captain general of iniquity," and in the account of whoſe adminiſtration Mr. SHERIDAN ſummed up almoſt every

every thing that could diſgrace human nature. "It exhibited," he ſaid, "a medley of meanneſs and outrage, of duplicity and depredation, of prodigality and oppreſſion, of the moſt callous cruelty contraſted with the hollow affectation of liberality and good faith. The ſordid ſyſtem of commercial policy, to which all the arrangements and regulations of the company are ultimately to be traced, was under his government carried to its utmoſt extent. Thus have nations been extirpated for a ſum of money, whole tracts of country laid waſte to furniſh an inveſtment, princes expelled for the balance of an account, and a bloody ſceptre wielded in one hand, in order to repleniſh the empty purſe of mercantile mendicancy diſplayed in the other." But we do not mean to enter into a hiſtory of the impeachment ---It would fill a much larger volume than we propoſe to write. Its duration, if we take into the account Mr. BURKE's preparatory efforts for two ſeſſions, equalled that of the ſiege of Troy, and was no leſs diſtinguiſhed by the variety of its conflicts. The friends of Mr. HASTINGS might alſo think it cruel in us to irritate afreſh thoſe ſores which all the balſam of a public acquittal and of the company's remuneration can never heal. Beſides, public attention has been wearied and diſguſted with the details of that trial. We ſhall therefore confine ourſelves to a few points, with which the public are as yet unacquainted.

Mr. SHERIDAN's ſpeech, on ſumming up the *Begum* charge, is acknowledged to be one of the fineſt compoſitions that ever were uttered in this or any other country. It was commenced before the lords on the third of June 1788, and continued four different days, with a vigour of genius which ſeemed to derive increaſing energy from unabated exertion. After Mr. SHERIDAN's pauſe on the ſecond day, (June 5) when the high court of parliament

liament had adjourned from Weſtminſter Hall, and the commons were aſſembled in their own chamber, the debate which enſued afforded Mr. BURKE an opportunity of diſplaying his own abilities in the praiſe of his honourable friend. The highly finiſhed and well deſerved panegyric was nearly in the following ſtrain:

" He has this day ſurpriſed the thouſands, who hung with rapture on his accents, by ſuch an array of talents, ſuch an exhibition of capacity, ſuch a diſplay of powers, as are unparalleled in the annals of oratory; a diſplay that reflected the higheſt honour upon himſelf---luſtre upon letters---renown upon parliament---glory upon the country. Of all ſpecies of rhetoric, of every kind of eloquence that has been witneſſed or recorded, either in ancient or modern times; whatever the acuteneſs of the bar, the dignity of the ſenate, the ſolidity of the judgment-ſeat, and the ſacred morality of the pulpit have hitherto furniſhed; nothing has ſurpaſſed, nothing has equalled what we have this day heard in Weſtminſter Hall. No holy ſeer of religion, no ſage, no ſtateſman, no orator, no man of any literary deſcription whatever, has come up, in the one inſtance, to the pure ſentiments of morality, or, in the other, to that variety of knowledge, force of imagination, propriety and vivacity of alluſion, beauty and elegance of diction, ſtrength and copiouſneſs of ſtile, pathos and ſublimity of conception, to which we have this day liſtened with ardour and admiration. From poetry up to eloquence, there is not a ſpecies of compoſition of which a complete and perfect ſpecimen might not from that ſingle ſpeech be culled and collected."

How ſweet is praiſe, when uttered by the lips of eloquence! yet ſweeter ſtill, when it flows from the heart of ſincerity! But Mr. BURKE's language on this occaſion was dictated by artifice. The near obſervers of his ſentiments and emotions could perceive that

that he felt himſelf ſurpaſſed by Mr. SHERIDAN in all the favorite walks of his own genius; that the canker-worm of envy had gnawed its way into his boſom; and that he ſtrove to conceal its ſharp corroſion under the ſhew of the moſt zealous and liberal applauſe. We ſhall ſoon ſee the pompous encomiaſt converted into a baſe detractor, and endeavouring to darken the luſtre of thoſe talents which he could not endure.

It is alſo in the conduct of this impeachment of HASTINGS that we are enabled to trace the firſt ſteps that led to a reconciliation between Mr. BURKE and the miniſter. The latter, from political motives, began at length to ſupport Mr. BURKE's proceedings in that buſineſs, and occaſionally lent him a majority in the houſe of commons. As this was very flattering to the principal accuſer's vindictive rage againſt the eaſtern culprit, it made him view the miniſter with greater kindneſs, and brought them nearer to each other. We cannot aſcertain the exact time when they ſhook hands; but it may be very nearly gueſſed at from the following circumſtance. In the ſummer of the year 1790, after the Nootka Sound affair had been ſucceſsfully played off by the miniſter to obtain a vote of credit, with a plauſible excuſe for fitting out an expenſive armament, Mr. THOMAS PAINE, the famous advocate for *the Rights of Man*, and long the boſom friend and gueſt of Mr. BURKE, received the moſt authentic intelligence from America, that the complainant, captain MEARDS, deſerved to be conſidered in no better light than as an illicit trader; that he had ſailed under falſe colours; and that no inſult could therefore have been offered to the Britiſh flag. Mr. PAINE wiſhed to put the papers into Mr. BURKE's hands, that he might lay them before parliament at its next meeting, and clearly expoſe the fraudful artifice by which the nation was to be *bubbled* out of

three

three or four millions. "Ah! my dear friend," ſaid BURKE, "you muſt not bring thoſe documents to me---I cannot make any uſe of them; for let me tell you in confidence, that having incurred a great deal of odium, and a great deal of cenſure in the proſecution of HASTINGS, I have been obliged, in order to ſecure the countenance and ſupport of the miniſter, to enter into a ſort compromiſe, which prevents me from bringing forward any ſubject that may be offenſive to him."

We have a farther and ſtill more indiſputable proof of the good underſtanding that ſubſiſted between Mr. BURKE, Mr. PITT, and Mr. DUNDAS, in a letter addreſſed to the latter, on the ſubject of the impeachment, in March 1792. Mr. BURKE had lately been very much irritated by ſome broad hints thrown out both in public and private of his having an intereſt in the continuance of the proſecution; and by the ſeeming diſpoſition of the houſe to countenance a minute ſcrutiny into the particulars of the expence. He felt theſe attacks on his character the more keenly, as the counſel, the civilians, and almoſt all the ſubordinate agents employed in the buſineſs, were of his appointment or recommendation---"as all the ſervices," he himſelf confeſſes, "had been ordered by his *ſpecial* direction, and nothing had been performed without his entire concurrence." The firſt object, therefore, of his letter, is to requeſt that Dr. LAWRENCE, whom he deſcribes as *the moſt efficient of the counſel*, and Mr. TROWARD, *one of the beſt men of buſineſs he had ever ſeen*, might be permitted to wait upon Mr. DUNDAS and Mr. PITT, to explain to them every the expenditure, which to them might ſeem to wa "I beg," he adds, "that they may have the yourſelves perſonally. It is an awkward ci hardly know how to mention it. I do not, I

reflect on the gentlemen's motives: but we are in an unpleaſant ſituation with regard, I believe, to *all* the gentlemen officially connected with you, who are enemies to this proſecution, and conſequently can have no objection to any thing which may impede, diſgrace, or defeat it. All repreſentations of what we are doing come from them to you. Mr. PITT and you will have, I am perſuaded, the generoſity to make ſome allowance for our ſolicitude on this head."

After thus ſhewing his earneſtneſs to wipe off the foul imputation, that "he had been in league with the ſolicitor to aggravate the expence for his own private emolument," he begs leave to ſubmit to Mr. PITT, and Mr. DUNDAS, his obſervations on the policy of the *delinquent*, as he calls HASTINGS, and of his aſſociates. "Theſe obſervations," ſays he, "have been made for too long a time, upon too many objects, in too many circumſtances, and in a ſituation too near the buſineſs, to admit me to think it poſſible I ſhould be miſtaken. Their policy, however diverſified in the means, is one and ſimple---that the cauſe ſhould never come to judgment * * *. For this purpoſe, they have been continually calling ours and the public attention to every ſort of collateral matter which they can make up. They have omitted no means to fatigue the patience of the proſecutors, the court, the houſe of commons, and the public. I have what I think good information, and it tallies exactly with the courſe of their conduct, that they are reſolved the trial ſhall not proceed beyond this head of *Benares*. This is an old plan of theirs. They have made a ſort of *rehearſal* of the trial on this article. It was on STOCKDALE's proſecution before lord KENYON. That affair was not, in truth, at all a trial of STOCKDALE. As it was ſuffered to be conducted by the judge, it was the trial of the houſe

houſe of commons for a malicious proſecution. By a ſtrange ſort of legerdemain the houſe was put into the ſituation of a culprit. In one reſpect, and in one reſpect alone, there was a difference---no means were furniſhed to the poor commons of making a defence. Indeed, there was no defence ever attempted on our part; hardly an apology. The commons were *fairly run down*. Mr. ERSKINE put the queſtion home to the attorney and ſolicitor general, *whether they themſelves did not think the impeachment unfounded and unjuſt?* Then, after affecting to ſpare their ſhame, he proceeded on ſuch topics, as I believe never were before uttered, or would have been ſuffered to be uttered, in a court of juſtice, namely, *that, as our power in India had been obtained by the means of the moſt unjuſt uſurpation, there was no way of keeping it, but by the moſt rigorous tyranny.* Theſe maxims, received in ſilent admiration by the bench, were victorious from the bar. The judge was in rapture with the eloquence of the counſel; and the houſe of commons was caſt, as having maliciouſly accuſed a zealous ſervant, of thoſe acts of tyranny, which the ſpecies of government they had founded in India, had rendered it his duty to exert."

Mr. BURKE makes ſome farther remarks on this doctrine of oriental deſpotiſm, and on the policy of HASTINGS in every other part of the proceeding, a policy, he ſays, dictated by conſcious guilt, and the main object of which was, "that the proſecution ſhould be regarded as nothing more than the private buſineſs of one Mr. BURKE;---that nobody elſe cared any thing about it;---that the houſe of commons had by ſome unaccountable accidents been inadvertently drawn into an affair, the nature of which they did not underſtand, and the extent of which they did not foreſee;---and that, as all parties had improvidently en-

gaged in it, all parties were now equally deſirous of any means by which they might eſcape out of ſo inconſiderate a purſuit."

Mr. HASTINGS and his aſſociates are alſo deſcribed as exerting the like artifice to put the treaſury or the houſe into an ill humour on the article of expence, which, they knew, was always the moſt popular and plauſible topic of objection to any proceeding; and if they ſucceeded in that point, and in making the world conſider the whole as a ſcuffle between Mr. BURKE and Mr. HASTINGS, they had no doubt but the houſe would be eaſily induced to leave the parties to finiſh as they could their diſpute, by pamphlets between the former of theſe gentlemen, and the agents of the latter. "They think," ſays he, "the time favorable to this project. Mr. BURKE, the principal manager, who *had not been* on good terms with the miniſterial ſide, has now fallen under the diſpleaſure of the other. Some of them have therefore gone over and vote with the oppoſition---They divide their forces to gain both parties---They hope that both ſides will conſent to load a perſon become obnoxious to his *old* party, without having ſecured protection from a *new*, with the whole of the public diſgrace, and ſend him, by common agreement, to paſs the remains of his old age, not in quiet obſcurity, but as a man diſmiſſed from ſociety, and covered with diſhonour." It would be an inſult on the reader's underſtanding to point out the tendency of this appeal to the two miniſters---It had the deſired effect---They engaged to protect him from that imaginary diſgrace he ſo much dreaded---But upon what terms did he purchaſe their protection! How could he hope to ſpend the remains of his old age in quiet obſcurity! A blaze of infamy followed him in his retreat; and the ſparkles that flew off, like rays iſſuing

ing from the head of a toad, attracted the glance of public indignation to its proper object.

" Oft have we wonder'd, that, on Iriſh ground,
" No pois'nous reptile has e'er yet been found!
" Reveal'd the ſecret ſtands of nature's work;
" She ſav'd her venom,—to create a BURKE *."

In the next part of the letter, Mr. BURKE acknowledges that Mr. HASTINGS had certainly incurred prodigious expences. Such a man might ſafely run the ſuperfluities of his enormous fortune, againſt the ſuperfluities of the public treaſure. " But," continues the writer, " immenſe and beyond all example of ſucceſsful pillage as his fortune is; he is mean and penurious; and never would have ſquandered it away in the manner he has done on this trial before the lords, and on the proſecutions, which, through his agents, he has inſtituted againſt me before the public, if he had not a moral aſſurance, that the Eaſt India company would reimburſe him the whole of his charges." Mr. BURKE dwells upon this point, and ſhews again and again the fatal, the diſgraceful conſequences of permitting the agents of HASTINGS directly or indirectly to interfere in the conduct of the proſecution. " *You cannot*," he tells Mr. PITT and Mr. DUNDAS, " *prevent their motions; but their ſucceſs in theſe motions is wholly in your power.*"

Towards the cloſe of a very long repreſentation on theſe and ſome other topics ariſing out of them, Mr. BURKE makes an apo-

* It is a fact atteſted by a witneſs on the ſpot, that the above lines, incloſed in a letter, were delivered to Mr. BURKE, while ſhaving himſelf, as he commonly did, in his ſtudy. He had half done; but the epigram threw him into ſuch an agony of rage, that he could not complete the operation for two hours after. The point of an epigram could never have produced that effect, if it had not been aided by the ſcorpion ſting of a guilty conſcience.

logy for exhauſting the miniſter's patience; but he does not forget to pay ſome compliments to the purity of his own motives in ſo unpleaſant and *unfruitful* a purſuit, inſinuating, with great addreſs, that a man "who, in long public ſervice, obtains no rank, no emolument, no power, and no commendation from any public party, *expiates a good many ſmaller offences.*" He alſo takes care to remind Mr. DUNDAS and Mr. PITT, that "though he did them no ſervice, he gave them *no trouble* in parliament; and muſt therefore requeſt of them *not to permit him*, after having been reluctantly chained for a ſeries of years to *one* oar [the impeachment] *to be forced into any other more baſe and degrading ſervitude.*" It would require greater ſtrength of fancy than Mr. BURKE himſelf poſſeſſed to conceive any lower ſtate of degradation than was implied in theſe advances from ſo willing, ſo forward a proſtitute.

In the impeachment of Mr. HASTINGS then, we are enabled to trace the firſt cauſes of Mr. BURKE's apoſtacy, the inordinate deſire of gratifying avarice and revenge. But to theſe paſſions we may alſo add the influence of deſpair,---the fatal effect of the hopeleſs ſituation in which he thought himſelf left by the iſſue of the regency buſineſs. We muſt now go back to that period, and view Mr. BURKE in the paroxyſms of furious enmity to the miniſter, whoſe protection he afterwards ſo abjectly courted; and of almoſt treaſonable outrage againſt the ſovereign, in whoſe praiſe, upon the grant of a penſion, he was ready to "tune his ſlaviſh pæans."

The motive for avoiding a repetition of thoſe details, with which the public had been already ſurfeited during the tedious proſecution of HASTINGS, derives additional force from new and weighty conſiderations, when we come to ſpeak of the king's

king's malady in 1788. We ſhudder at the idea of giving any countenance to Mr. BURKE's indecent and ſavage triumph,---to his far worſe than *jacobin* exultation at *the loweſt and moſt humiliating of all human calamities, which had fallen upon the higheſt ſituation.*

" Animus meminiſſe horret, luctuque refugit."

But we muſt go over ſome of the principal grounds of debate at that period, in order to throw a proper light on Mr. BURKE's character; and to ſhew the activity of his zeal,---the uncommon exertions of his genius in a few important matters, which are known only to the queen, the prince of Wales, the duke of York, and a very ſmall number of their moſt confidential friends.

None of our co-temporaries can want to be informed, that the grand deſign of the miniſtry, when proofs of the king's indiſpoſition were laid before parliament, was to weaken the claim of the prince of WALES as next heir to the crown; to reduce him to a level with every common ſubject in point of right; and then to nominate him regent, but with ſuch reſtrictions on his exerciſe of authority, as would leave him only the ſhadow of power, while the ſubſtance would be ſtill retained by thoſe who formerly held it. The whole of this deſign was not eaſily diſcoverable at firſt view; and the miniſter, in gradually drawing aſide the veil, took care to diſplay ſuch parts only as wore the moſt impoſing and popular appearance. Mr. Fox had aſſerted, that the prince of WALES had as clear and expreſs a right to aſſume the reins and exerciſe the powers of ſovereignty during the continuance of the king's incapacity, as if his majeſty was actually dead; though the two houſes of parliament, as the organs of the nation, were alone qualified to pronounce

nounce *when* the prince ought to take poſſeſſion of that right. But Mr. PITT, ſtarting up at once as the champion of republican equality, ſaid, that for any man to aſſert ſuch a right in the prince of WALES, otherwiſe than as it was voluntarily conferred upon him by the two houſes of parliament, was little leſs than treaſon to the conſtitution of his country; and that, unleſs by their election, the prince had no more right, ſpeaking of ſtrict right, to aſſume the government, than any other individual in England. It is true, in the abſolute ſtrictneſs of the expreſſion, that princes have no other rights than thoſe which are equally poſſeſſed by every member of the community. The prerogatives allowed them, and the eſtabliſhed order of ſucceſſion, are truſts and regulations provided for the good of the whole, and not *rights* conferred for the gratification of the individual. But the queſtion was, whether, according to the genius and ſpirit of the Britiſh conſtitution, which made the executive government hereditary as well as the crown, parliament had any authority to make it elective, when neither the extinction of the royal line, nor any breach of the original compact could be urged as a plea for ſuch proceeding? Mr. BURKE animadverted on the invidious terms employed by Mr. PITT, in accuſing his opponents of treaſon, a language deſtructive of the freedom of debate. This was holding the laſh of vindictive law over thoſe who dared to oppoſe the rights of the royal family to the preſumptuous claim of *one of the prince's competitors*. But the miniſter's doctrine was ſanctioned by the majority of both houſes; and committees were appointed to ſearch for precedents.

Before any report was made by either of the committees, the minority attempted, though without effect, to prevent the abſtract queſtion of the prince's rights from being any farther agitated.

The

The debate on that ſubject in the houſe of lords was diſtinguiſhed by two memorable circumſtances, a ſpeech made by the duke of YORK, and a ſort of ſolemn oath or wiſh expreſſed by the chancellor. The duke, after a modeſt introduction, ſaid "that no claim of right had been made on the part of the prince; and he was confident that his royal highneſs underſtood too well the ſacred principles which ſeated the houſe of Brunſwick on the throne of Great Britain, ever to aſſume or exerciſe any power, *be his claim what it might*, not derived from *the will of the people*, expreſſed by their repreſentatives, and their lordſhips in parliament aſſembled. It was upon this ground, that he muſt be permitted to hope, that the wiſdom and moderation of all conſiderate men, at a moment when temper and unanimity were ſo peculiarly neceſſary, on account of the dreadful calamity which every deſcription of perſons muſt, in common, lament, but which he more particularly felt, would make them wiſh to avoid preſſing a deciſion, which certainly was not neceſſary to the great object expected from parliament, and which, in the diſcuſſion, muſt be moſt painful to a family already ſufficiently agitated and afflicted. Such," his royal highneſs obſerved in concluſion, "were the ſentiments of an honeſt heart, equally influenced by duty and affection to his royal father, and by attachment to the conſtitutional rights of his ſubjects; and he was confident, that, if his royal brother were to addreſs them, in his place, as peer of the realm, theſe were the ſentiments which he would diſtinctly avow." This ſpeech was received with applauſe, which it certainly deſerved. But Mr. BURKE afterwards wrote another for the duke, on an occaſion that admitted of a ſtill greater diſplay of the powers of eloquence. We ſhall inſert, in its proper place, a faithful copy of it; though we are unacquainted with the reaſon

which his majeſty had graciouſly conferred on him; and which, *when he forgot, might God forget him!*" This ſtrain of ſentimental canting, and another extraordinary burſt of the pathetic in a ſubſequent debate, when the chancellor deſcanted on the cruelty of ſtripping the king of any mark of royalty, of any part of the ſplendor of his houſehold, and leaving him

" Deſerted in his utmoſt need
" By thoſe his former bounty fed,"

were made the ſubject of Mr. BURKE's ridicule in the lower houſe. The theatrical tears which were ſhed on thoſe occaſions, " were not," he obſerved, " the tears of patriots for dying laws,---but of lords for their expiring places: the iron tears, which flowed down PLUTO's cheek, rather reſembled the diſmal bubbling of the *Styx*, than the gentle murmuring ſtreams of *Aganippe:* in fact, they were tears for his majeſty's bread: yet thoſe, who ſhed them, would ſtick by the king's loaf as long as a ſingle cut of it remained: they would faſten on the hard cruſt, and would gnaw it, while two crumbs of it held together; and, what was more extraordinary, they would proudly declare at the time, that it was the honour of the ſervice and the dignity of their offices which they regarded, and that, as to the emoluments, they did not value the money *three ſkips of a louſe.*" In addition to theſe ſarcaſms, we ſhall alſo find a ſtrong alluſion to the ſame circumſtance in the ſecond ſpeech which Mr. BURKE wrote for the duke of YORK.

After the committee of the houſe of commons made their report on the ſubject of precedents, Mr. PITT propoſed two reſolutions entirely of a declaratory nature, the firſt affirming that the perſonal exerciſe of the royal authority was interrupted; and

of the royal family, for they will all rob the crown, becauſe they are the relatives of the ſovereign; and, in order to fix a proper and legal ſanction upon our proceedings, we will give a fictitious aſſent to our own acts. This is called the *royal aſſent*, without any intimation to the royal perſon of any ſuch aſſent, or to the illuſtrious perſonage who is to act for him! This is a glaring falſehood, a palpable abſurdity. I do not approve of any robbery, houſe-breaking, highway-robbery, or any other felony: yet each of them is leſs inexcuſable than law-forgery. The great ſeal is to be affixed to a commiſſion robbing the executive power of its due function: a certain compoſition of wax and copper is to repreſent the monarch: this is a ſpecies of abſurd metaphyſics and abſurd mechanics---a fiction ſo prepoſterous, that I do not ſee how it is poſſible to treat it otherwiſe than with contempt and ridicule: but the great effect, which this abſurdity is to have, makes it ſerious and important. I diſclaim all allegiance---I renounce all obedience and loyalty to a king ſo choſen, and a crown ſo formed---I have given my allegiance already to the houſe of Hanover, to poſſeſs the power given by the conſtitution. I worſhip the Gods of our glorious conſtitution; but I will not worſhip PRIAPUS! * * * I have the pleaſure to coincide with the idea of my right honourable friend, [Mr. FOX] concerning the right of the prince of WALES. If the king be blind, dumb, lethagic, or apoplectic, there muſt be ſome perſon who is perfect, or elſe to whom do we owe our allegiance? Gentlemen on the other ſide ſeem to value themſelves, like antiquaries, who have a HOMER without a head; and the conſtitution is thus made a *Muſeum!*"

Mr. BURKE's ſtrictures, though very pointed, were of no avail againſt the ſtrength of a majority; yet that did not hinder him, in other debates on the ſame topic, from again and again expoſing

to

to derision the abſurd contrivance to enable the lord chancellor to put the great ſeal to the deciſions of two branches only of the legiſlature. The *black-browed phantom on the throne* was often brought forward to public view. "I never heard," ſaid the orator, "of a phantom being raiſed in a private family, but for the purpoſe of robbing the houſe. So far from being a repreſentative of the forms of the conſtitution, it is a maſquerade, a mummery, a piece of buffoonery, uſed to burleſque the conſtitution, and to ridicule every form of government! A phantom conjured up to affright propriety, and drive it from our iſle! An hideous ſpectre, to which it might be ſaid, in the language of MACBETH to BANQUO's ghoſt,

> "Avaunt! and quit my ſight! Let the earth hide thee!
> "Thy bones are marrowleſs; thy blood is cold;
> "Thou haſt no ſpeculation in thoſe eyes,
> "Which thou doſt glare with"———

And ſo, in fact, it is with this political ſpectre: *its bones are marrowleſs; its blood is cold; and it has no ſpeculation in its eyes.* It is a chimera---a monſter taken out of the depths of hell!"

Mr. PITT having, in one of thoſe warm altercations, denied that it was either a fraud or a fiction, to employ the great ſeal as the organ of the king, under the ſanction of the united wiſdom of both houſes, Mr. BURKE ſaid in reply, "that ſuch a plan deſerved a worſe name than that of a fiction or phantom. They were going to create MILTON's monſters of Sin and Death,---Death to the conſtitution, and Sin to the feelings of the country. What muſt be the progeny, but innumerable barking monſters, howling at, and endeavouring to deſtroy every principle of the conſtitution? They were going to ſteal the great ſeal,---to commit

mit a forgery and fraud,---to ſupport violence,---and to carry them on to their climax of villany. If the houſe wiſhed to preſerve unity in the empire, they ought to appoint a perſon, who was intereſted in the empire, to repreſent the king: they ought to truſt, upon his word, the prince of WALES, whom hereafter they muſt truſt without; and thus, they would ſave their country, and none would ſuffer but ambitious men. The danger, which had been talked of, if they were to addreſs the prince of WALES to take the regency upon him, reminded Mr. BURKE of the giant who uſed to ſwallow a dozen windmills for breakfaſt every morning, and was afterwards choaked by a ſmall bit of butter in July."

It was in the debate of the twenty ſecond of December, on the propriety of an immediate addreſs to the prince to take upon him the care of the adminiſtration during his majeſty's illneſs, that Mr. BURKE declared, "he knew as little of the inſide of *Carlton Houſe*, as he did of *Buckingham Houſe*." This was ſtrictly true at that time; and Mr. BURKE had often before expreſſed his ſurpriſe to ſome of his confidential friends, that the prince always treated him with a cold and diſtant politeneſs. The truth is, that the prince unites with many engaging qualities one great weakneſs, though rather pardonable in a perſon of his high rank, a wiſh to be always at the head of his company; and he knew that could never be the caſe, when ſuch men as Fox and BURKE were preſent. The former, however, had long enjoyed the prince's confidence; and the exigency of the preſent occaſion made his royal higneſs ſenſible of the policy and neceſſity of admitting into the cloſeſt intimacy ſo able and indefatigable a champion as the latter. Beſides ſuſtaining with Mr. SHERIDAN, a more than ordinary ſhare of fatigue in every parliamentary conflict,

flict*, Mr. BURKE's pen was exerted with no leſs perſeverance than his tongue in detecting and reprobating the miniſter's artifice. Among the numberleſs invectives againſt Mr. PITT, which he wrote at that time, the keeneſt and the moſt unanſwerable appeared in the form of "Queſtions to Mr. GILL," who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the defence of adminiſtration. The following is a copy of thoſe curious interrogatories:

"Do you not know, that the very ſame pretences, which are ſet up for excluding the royal family from the temporary repreſentation of the crown in giving aſſent to acts the moſt immediately concerning the exerciſe of the rights of the crown, may be uſed for depriving the whole houſe of Brunſwick of the right of ſucceſſion ſettled by law?---Do you really think that the men of ſpirit in this country will tamely ſuffer themſelves to be ſtripped of the ineſtimable ſecurity they have for all the bleſſings of the Revolution, in order to turn this flouriſhing kingdom, under the falſe appearance of a republic, into a deſpotiſm for Mr. PITT, and a job for you, and ſuch as you?

"Do you not know, that a man may live under this malady of madneſs for many years; and that the pretext of today may ſerve for the deceit of tomorrow; and that when the ſucceſſor, after perhaps twenty years, comes to his empty name of inheritance, he will find the ſame conſpiracy of wicked and ungrateful ſervants, ſtrengthened by time and by the perverſion of all the favors of the crown, in full poſſeſſion of power, ſo as hardly to leave him the name of a king?

* They ſeldom had the aſſiſtance of Mr. Fox, who at that time was much confined by an alarming indiſpoſition, the effect of extremely rapid travelling from Switzerland, where he was when the king's malady was aſcertained, and whither the prince ſent an expreſs for him, requeſting his return to England with all poſſible diſpatch.

"For

" For what purpoſe did PITT declare, that every individual in the kingdom (you, Mr. GILL, for inſtance) had as good a right to be elected regent as the prince of WALES? Is not that poſition as falſe as it is invidious, inſolent, and audacious?

" When did you, even in the moſt diſorderly and diſtant times, hear that a parliament was held, and the royal aſſent given, during the incapacity of the king, to any acts, except by the eldeſt prince of the blood, then of full age, and then in England?

" Is not the pretended grant of regency to the prince of WALES, upon terms on which he cannot poſſibly exerciſe his truſt without PITT's conſent---is not this avowedly giving the regency to PITT?

" Do you not know, as a fact, that Mr. PITT has not only centered in himſelf the whole power of the crown as firſt miniſter, but has diſtributed, for power and profit, all the principal departments of the ſtate, and every honour and diſtinction, among his own relations and kindred? Is not his couſin german, the marquis of BUCKINGHAM, lord lieutenant of Ireland, with the whole patronage of that kingdom?---Is not general PITT commander of the forces there?---Is not his brother, lord CHATHAM, firſt lord of the admiralty, with all the patronage of the navy?---Is not lord SIDNEY, lord CHATHAM's father-in-law, principal ſecretary of ſtate, with all the patronage of Canada, Nova Scotia, and all the Weſt India iſlands? Is not his couſin german, Mr. GRENVILLE, paymaſter, with the reverſion, on a very old life, of remembrancer in Ireland, a place for life of 3000l. a year?---Is not his brother-in-law, Mr. ELLIOT, made by him clerk of the pells, a place of 1800l. a year for life?---Was not his couſin, lord CAMELFORD, made a peer; and lord ELLIOT, whoſe ſon had married his ſiſter, made a peer likewiſe?---Do you know

to what length he would have gone, unleſs ſtopped by the king's malady?---and are you reſolved that he ſhall never be ſtopped?

"Do not thoſe who compoſe the faction you ſupport in both houſes conſiſt of PITT, THURLOW, DUNDAS, JOHN ROBINSON, and a corrupt and degenerate confederacy of *Placemen*, PENSIONERS, *Jobbers*, and *old Hacks of the Court*, and the reſt of the *Supporters* and *Betrayers of all parties* for twenty-eight years; and are they not directly aiming to hold to themſelves, by force, their places, pecuniary profits, power and influence, at the riſque of the deſtruction of the crown, and the ruin of the kingdom?"

Let the reader pauſe for a moment: let him conſult his own feelings, and then tell, if he can, which is the ſtronger emotion in his breaſt, that of aſtoniſhment or of indignation, at ſeeing the writer of theſe queſtions, in one ſhort year, join that very confederacy, the corruption, degeneracy, ſervility and treachery of which he had painted with ſuch blended colours of contempt and abhorrence! Surely his name will become a ſort of common epithet for gigantic traitors and apoſtates; and when the Engliſh language affords no word ſtrong enough to expreſs the enormity of a man's political baſeneſs and the extraordinary perverſion of his great talents, it will be ſaid of ſuch a character, that he is *another* BURKE.

On the laſt day but one of the year 1788, Mr. PITT having prepared his plan of intended reſtrictions, had the *great condeſcenſion* to addreſs a letter to the prince of WALES, informing him, "that it was the opinion of the king's confidential ſervants, that he ſhould be empowered to exerciſe the royal authority during the illneſs and in the name of his father; providing nevertheleſs, that the care of the king's perſon and the diſpoſition of his houſhold ſhould be committed to the queen; and that the power to be exerciſed

erciſed by the prince ſhould not extend to the perſonal property of his father,---to the granting any office, reverſion, or penſion, except where the law abſolutely required it, as in the caſe of the judges, for any other term than during the king's pleaſure,---nor to the conferring any peerage, unleſs upon ſuch perſons of the royal iſſue as ſhould have attained the age of twenty one years." Mr. PITT added, "that the ideas he had ſuggeſted were founded upon the ſuppoſition that the royal malady was only temporary, and might be of ſhort duration. It would be difficult to fix at preſent the preciſe period for which theſe proviſions ought to endure; but it would be open hereafter to the wiſdom of parliament to reconſider them, whenever circumſtances might appear to render it eligible."

The prince of WALES's anſwer, which was written by Mr. BURKE, is dated Jan. 2, 1789, and expreſſes with equal force and dignity the ſentiments which he might have been expected to feel upon ſuch an occaſion. After acknowledging the information received from Mr. PITT's letter, the prince was ſilent concerning the ſteps already taken. "Nothing," he ſaid, "done by the two houſes of parliament could be a proper ſubject of his animadverſion; but when, previouſly to any diſcuſſion in parliament, the outlines of a ſcheme of government, in which it was propoſed that he ſhould be perſonally and principally concerned, and by which the royal authority and the public welfare might be deeply affected, were ſent to him for his conſideration, it would be unjuſtifiable in him to with-hold an explicit declaration of his ſentiments. His ſilence might be conſtrued into a previous approbation of a plan, the accompliſhment of which every motive of duty to his father and ſovereign, as well as of regard for the public intereſt, obliged him to conſider

as injurious to both. He did not expect that a plan, by which government was to be rendered difficult, if not impracticable, would be offered to his conſideration, at a moment when government, deprived of its chief energy and ſupport, ſeemed peculiarly to need the cordial and united aid of all deſcriptions of good ſubjects. He forbore to remark on the ſeveral parts of the ſketch laid before him. It was not probable that any argument of his would produce an alteration of ſentiment in the projectors of it. But he truſted to the wiſdom and juſtice of parliament, when the ſubject ſhould come under their deliberation. It was with deep regret that he perceived in the contents of Mr. PITT's paper a project for introducing weakneſs, diſorder, and inſecurity into every branch of political buſineſs;---a project for dividing the royal family from each other, for ſeparating the court from the ſtate, and depriving government of its natural and accuſtomed ſupport:---a ſcheme for diſconnecting the authority to command ſervice, from the power of animating it by reward; and for allotting to the prince all the invidious duties of government, without the means of ſoftening them to the public by any one act of grace, favor, or benignity. His feelings were rendered ſtill more painful by obſerving, that the plan was not founded in any general principle, but was calculated to infuſe jealouſies and ſuſpicions in that quarter, whoſe confidence it would ever be the firſt pride of his life to merit and obtain. On the motive and object of the reſtrictions he had little to obſerve: miniſters had only informed him *what* the powers were which they meant to refuſe, not *why* they were with-held. As the powers and prerogatives of the crown were veſted there in truſt for the benefit of the people, and were ſacred only becauſe neceſſary to preſerve the poiſe and balance of the conſtitution,

conſtitution, the plea of public utility ought to be ſtrong, manifeſt, and urgent, which called for the extinction or ſuſpenſion of any one of thoſe eſſential rights in the ſupreme power or its repreſentative, or which could juſtify the prince in conſenting, that in his perſon an experiment ſhould be made, to aſcertain with how ſmall a portion of the kingly power the executive government of this country might be carried on. If ſecurity for the king's repoſſeſſing his rightful government were any part of the object of the propoſed plan, the prince had only to be convinced that any meaſure was neceſſary, or even conducive to that end, to be the firſt to urge it as the preliminary and paramount conſideration of any ſettlement in which he would conſent to ſhare. If attention to what it was preſumed might be the king's feelings and wiſhes on the happy day of his recovery were the object, it was with the trueſt ſincerity the prince expreſſed his firm conviction, that no event could be more repugnant to the feelings of his royal father, than to know, that the government of his ſon and repreſentative had exhibited the ſovereign power in a ſtate of degradation, of curtailed authority and diminiſhed energy,---a ſtate, hurtful in practice to the proſperity and good government of his people, and injurious in its precedent to the ſecurity of the monarch, and the rights of his family. The prince alſo felt himſelf compelled to remark, that it was not neceſſary for Mr. PITT, nor proper, to ſuggeſt a reſtraint on his granting away the king's real and perſonal property: he did not conceive that he was by law entitled to make any ſuch grant; and he was ſure, that he had never ſhewn the ſmalleſt inclination to poſſeſs any ſuch power. He had diſcharged his duty in thus giving his free opinion of the plan. Yet, his conviction of the evils which might ariſe from the go-

vernment

vernment of the country remaining longer in a maimed and debilitated ſtate, outweighed in his mind every other conſideration, and would determine him to undertake the painful truſt impoſed upon him by the preſent melancholy neceſſity (which of all the king's ſubjects he deplored the moſt) in full confidence, that the affection and loyalty to the king, the experienced attachment to the houſe of BRUNSWICK, and the generoſity which had always diſtinguiſhed the nation, would carry him through the many difficulties, inſeparable from ſo critical a ſituation, with comfort to himſelf, with honour to the king, and with advantage to the public."

The prince was perfectly right in ſuppoſing that no argument of his would produce any change of ſentiment in the projectors of the plan. Five reſolutions, in ſtrict conformity to Mr. PITT's letter, were carried through both houſes; and a committee was appointed to wait upon the prince with the reſult of their proceedings, and to expreſs a hope that he would take upon himſelf that ſort of regency which they intended to inſtitute. His anſwer was ſimilar in its tenor to the concluſion of his reply to Mr. PITT, with this addition, that he truſted the limitations on the exerciſe of the royal authority had been approved by the two houſes, only as a temporary meaſure, founded in a loyal hope, in which he ardently participated, that his majeſty's diſorder might not be of long duration.

The length, frequency, and vehemence of the debates which naturally aroſe out of thoſe reſolutions, and out of every other meaſure connected with the ſettlement of the regency, gave the fulleſt exerciſe to the vigour of Mr. BURKE's genius, and to the impetuoſity of his paſſions. Sometimes he enlarged on the miſchiefs that muſt reſult from ſuch a maimed, crippled, and impotent

impotent mockery of power; againſt cutting and carving the government, as they would cut out, in the words of the poet, *a carrion carcaſe for hounds*, inſtead of conſidering it as *a ſacrifice to the Gods*. To the queen the houſe propoſed to be prodigal; to the heir apparent they had not given the leaſt dignity in the world. The former was intruſted with all the real power of the crown; the latter with only a ſemblance of its authority. They were about to give him *a mock crown, a tinſel robe, and a ſceptre from the theatre, lackered over and unreal*; while they reſtrained him from exerciſing charities, conferring honours, beſtowing bounties, or doing any one grateful office, which might ſerve as a balance againſt the dreadful attributes of ſovereignty, and the unpopularity of inevitable taxation. By confiding to the queen the removal and appointment of the officers of the houſhold, with a patronage eſtimated at three hundred thouſand pounds a year, beſides the permanent council, which was to conſiſt in ſome meaſure of the members of the preſent adminiſtration, and from which the princes of the blood were expreſsly excluded, a power was evidently created to counteract all the operations and energies of the regent. By the reſtraint on the creation of peers, the door of the upper houſe was ſhut againſt the people; and the lords became the great, independent, and omnipotent branch of the legiſlature.

At other times, Mr. BURKE pointed the ſeverity of his animadverſions at the conſignment of the privy purſe to the queen's diſpoſal, and at the excluſion of the princes of the blood from the council of advice to her majeſty. Should the houſe ſanction the former, he ſaid, they would not only deprive the regent of the table, honour, and hoſpitality belonging to royalty, but would, for what they knew, create a fund for bribing members.

bers of parliament. The queen was to be intruſted with the care and application of 60,000l. a year, according to her conjectures of what the king would wiſh to have done, were he well. They had heard of *the queen's girdle, the queen's ſhoes, the queen's mantle, and other parts of her perſonal attire*, as heads of expence under the civil liſt; but they had never before heard of *the queen's having an enormous ſum for gueſſing what the king would have done, had he not been inſane.* As to the excluſion of the princes of the blood from the council of advice, he ſaid that it amounted to no leſs than an outlawry, proſcription, and attainder of the whole houſe of BRUNSWICK. The king's dutiful ſons and his loving brothers were deemed unworthy of any ſhare of that truſt, in which they had, undoubtedly, the firſt intereſt and the deepeſt concern; while *his majeſty's perſon and his majeſty's property were left at the mercy and the will of the crows and the kites of the air.* But it had been pretended, that the reaſon for not propoſing the princes of the blood was out of *reſpect* to them;---*a reſpect* which was *a perpetual diſqualification*, like the reſpect of the Epicureans for their Gods. *That reſpect was to put the princes of the blood out of the commonwealth, becauſe they were the firſt perſons in it.* It was, in reality, *the groſſeſt inſult* that could be offered to the king and royal family: it was *a determined effort for the ſupport of a faction.* The framers of the whole ſcheme had firſt proceeded to a violation of precedents, next to a violation of law, then to a violation of the conſtitution, and now they had come to the climax of violence,---*a violation of the law of nature.* This reminded him of a line of POPE---

" Star after ſtar goes out, and all is night."

The

The direct aim of ſuch meaſures was to break the bonds of of domeſtic union;---to raiſe the ſervants above their maſters, who were ſhut out and excommunicated;---and to ſow diſſentions in the middle of the royal family.

It was for the expected debate on theſe clauſes in the houſe of lords that Mr. BURKE prepared the ſpeech before alluded to, which was to have been delivered by the duke of YORK. His royal highneſs would in that caſe have borne away the palm of eloquence from all the kings and princes who had ever addreſſed an Engliſh parliament. We are happy in being able to lay before the reader a copy of this beautiful compoſition.

" My lords,

" My wiſhes would lead me to take no part at all in the debates on this bill, but to ſubmit myſelf implicitly to your lordſhips' diſcretion. But the point, to which matters have been brought, does not leave it in my choice whether I ſhall ſpeak, or whether I ſhall be ſilent.

" I ſee the children of the king ſeparated from their father---the mother alienated from her offſpring---the whole royal family excluded and degraded, not from their rank and ſituation only, but from the firſt and deareſt privileges of nature. The children and brothers of his majeſty are excluded from any ſhare as principals, or even by participation and advice, in the care of the king. We have been rejected, one by one, and name by name. This, my lords, I own, ſinks deep into my mind.

" From the very beginning of theſe tranſactions I thought that the intentions of thoſe who have taken the lead in them could not be miſtaken. They began by *a formal Declaration of Right*, ſo perfectly uncalled for, that it could not (as I then conceived) have any other purpoſe than that of conveying to

the world an opinion that the prince of WALES had queſtioned the juſt power of parliament, or had maintained a claim to the regency independent of the recognition of the two houſes.

" Whatever the views might be of thoſe who brought it forward, it was impoſſible that I ſhould conſider it in any other light than as a ſcheme to throw unmerited ſuſpicion on the prince of WALES, and to prejudice him in the opinions and hearts of the people. Theſe I am ſure my brother thinks his beſt inheritance; and that the regency, and even the throne, or a greater throne, if ſuch there were, are nothing without them.

" I was authorized by the prince of WALES to diſavow any ſuch claim on his part, and faithfully executed my commiſſion. I did it with the greater chearfulneſs, becauſe the opinion of the prince of WALES was exactly my own. But your lordſhips well remember in what manner, and on what principles, that meaſure was perſevered in. *The gratitude of his majeſty's ſervants, with I know not what appeal to heaven, was ſet in oppoſition to the gratitude, the duty, and the natural affection of all his children and both his majeſty's brothers, in order to juſtify a declaration which ſtruck obliquely at the honour of all his majeſty's family.*

" Your lordſhips well know that this excluſion is not warranted by precedent; and that this is undoubtedly the firſt inſtance of ſuch a truſt in this, or probably in any country, from which the princes of the blood have all been rejected.

" The excluſion, therefore, cannot be referred to any general principle; but muſt of neceſſity, and in the fair conſtruction of all men, come home to ſome ground of diſqualification, and ſome circumſtances of diſtruſt, perſonal and peculiar to ourſelves.

" When I look to the ſhocking nature of the ſuſpicion, on which our expulſion is grounded, your lordſhips would think me unpar-

unpardonable, if I did not riſe, in the face of the world, to aſſert the honour of a family, which till now has never been impeached, and for which the Britiſh parliament and the Britiſh nation have been uſed to profeſs affection and reſpect.

" My lords, it is not expected that I ſhould condeſcend to purge myſelf or any of my family of the ſuſpicion of attempting the life or prolonging the malady of my parent, if we were ſuffered to be even in the remote character of an adviſer in the care of his perſon---I cannot brook the thought that I ſhould be called to do ſo. I do not riſe to clear myſelf and my blood from ſo ſcandalous an imputation---I riſe to demand your lordſhips' protection and juſtice againſt a monſtrous oppreſſion.

" My father, my lords, did not ſuſpect me of parricide. I have ever honoured him; and I had reaſon to think I poſſeſſed a large ſhare indeed of his tenderneſs, from the earlieſt period of my own memory, to that fatal hour in which *his* has been interrupted. If God in his mercy to the king, and his children, and his people, ſhould reſtore that memory, and ſhould revive the affections of his heart, I have no reaſon to think he will applaud the authors of my diſgrace, or account thoſe his friends who have branded his children and his brothers with the ſuſpicion of murder and rebellion. All this is pretended to be done for the king. But it is no great preſumption in me to aſſert, that I know, and can ſpeak the ſentiments of my father as authentically as any of the creatures of his favor.

" My lords, I have the honour of being a member of another great body, as well as of this. With what face can I ſhew myſelf to a commonwealth of princes, and to a people ſubjected to me, when I am thus diſgraced in the country that gave me birth? I am a prince of the empire---I am the ſon of your king---If

ſit in a chair at the head of that council, the bill provided that he ſhould be declared capable. This was putting the whole power of changing the government into the hands of Dr. WILLIS and his keepers. A perſon who had been inſane, might be ſo ſubdued by coercion and ſeverity, as to be capable of being prevailed on to act the farce appointed him, of appearing for a ſhort period to have recovered his intellects. But what was likely to be the natural conduct of a perſon really and happily reſtored? Undoubtedly, his firſt object would be to revive thoſe domeſtic feelings, deareſt to the human heart! Were the king to recover, and had it in his power, would he not, on the reſtoration of his intellects, firſt call his deareſt ſon, the prince of WALES, into his preſence? Would he not next aſk for his next ſon, the duke of YORK, and the reſt of the royal progeny? Did the bill provide for this? No. The whole was to be done in a blind manner, in the dark, and in a way moſt liable to ſuſpicion. *The whole was a ſcheme, under the pretence of pronouncing his majeſty recovered, to bring back an inſane king.* Mr. BURKE declared he did not ſuſpect the queen of being capable of acting improperly; but, as a public man, it was his duty to ſuſpect ſituations and temptations, that might pervert the pureſt mind, and draw it aſide from the ſtraight path of rectitude, and thus render her majeſty the tool of ambitious men. He reprobated the clauſe on account of its malevolent aſpect, in excluding the houſe of BRUNSWICK, and for its malicious attempt to guard againſt evils from a quarter whence none were expected to come, and laying a quarter open whence they were moſt to be dreaded. The houſe, he ſaid, had proceeded ſtep after ſtep, and been led on to do that, which, if propoſed altogether, would, he was perſuaded, have been rejected by every man of honour. Like

MACBETH,

MACBETH, who, after having murdered DUNCAN and BANQUO, exclaimed,

"——————————" I am in blood
" Stept in ſo far, that, ſhould I wade no more,
" Returning were as tedious as go o'er."—

they found themſelves inclined to proceed, from not daring to trace back their ſteps.

Whenever Mr. BURKE had occaſion to make any remarks on the nature of the king's infirmity, he did not appear to be very nice in the choice of his expreſſions. "His majeſty," he ſaid, "was inſane; but his malady was not like that of ſome other perſons, who were under confinement in houſes and places deſtined for ſuch purpoſes, intermittent, various, ſubject to degrees, to lucid intervals, and occaſional viſitations of reaſon; but his faculties were totally eclipſed:---it was not a partial eclipſe, wanting ſome digits of completion,---but a total and entire eclipſe." At another time he deſcribed the king as "a monarch ſmitten by the hand of Omnipotence,---hurled from his throne by the Almighty,---and plunged into a condition which drew down upon him the pity of the meaneſt peaſant in the kingdom." To continue all the former ſplendors of the houſehold round his majeſty's perſon in ſuch a ſtate of ſickneſs and calamity, was, Mr. BURKE affirmed, "to make a mockery of him,---to put a crown of thorns on his head, a reed in his hand, and dreſſing him in a raiment of purple, to cry *Hail! king of the Britiſh!*" But he maintained that it would be ſtill more ſhockingly reprehenſible to leave it in the power of crafty, deſigning men, to replace the king on the throne, while his ſanity might remain doubtful; to leave it in their power to produce the

perſon

perſon of a monarch in ſuch weakneſs as might render him the tool of a faction. A medical writer of the firſt eminence, in order to ſhew how uncertain the ſymptoms of recovered ſanity were, had ſtated the general practice, in all receptacles for inſane patients, not to diſcharge any for a month after their ſuppoſed recovery: yet, to ſay nothing of the numbers who relapſed in that interval, and often on the very laſt day, the inſtances were too numerous of unfortunate individuals, who, after their diſcharge, committed parricides, butchered their parents, their children, their wives, or did violence to themſelves by hanging, ſhooting, drowning, and a variety of other frantic and fatal exceſſes. Mr. BURKE ſaid, he ſpoke with greater confidence, as he had taken pains to make himſelf maſter of the ſubject, had turned over every book upon it, and had viſited the dreadful manſions where ſuch affecting ſpectacles of human degradation and calamity were confined. If the orator was at any time called to order, or reminded of the intemperate warmth or indelicacy of his language, he ſaid "*order* was an admirable thing, perfect in all its limbs, only unfortunately it ſquinted, and wanted the aid of ſome expert oculiſt to enable it to ſee ſtraight. He alſo wiſhed to preſerve the utmoſt delicacy; but *delicacy*, though a being of perfect ſymmetry like the former, was only a ſubſidiary virtue, and ought always to give way to *truth*, where the caſe was ſuch, that the truth was infinitely of more conſequence than the delicacy."

Though Mr. BURKE never poſitively aſſerted that the king's malady was incurable, it is very evident that he thought ſo. In this idea, however, he ſoon found himſelf miſtaken. While the bill, after paſſing the houſe of commons, was going on through its ſeveral ſtages in the houſe of lords, its farther progreſs was

ſuddenly

ſuddenly ſuſpended by a declaration from the king's phyſicians of his being in a ſtate of convaleſcence. In a few days after, they pronounced him free from complaint. During this interval, the lord chancellor had ſeveral interviews with his majeſty; but the prince of WALES, and the duke of YORK, though they earneſtly begged to be admitted to ſee their father, were denied that ſatisfaction. The advice and aſſiſtance of Mr. BURKE were called in on this occaſion alſo. He drew up the following repreſentation, or letter, which was copied and ſent, with the ſignatures of the royal brothers, to the queen:

"Your Majeſty's moſt dutiful ſon, the prince of WALES, moſt humbly begs leave to repreſent to your Majeſty the following circumſtances---

"It has for ſome days been confidently reported, and is generally credited, that his Majeſty is happily reſtored to health; though that health is not yet perfectly confirmed. It muſt be, on a ſuppoſition of this fact, that the lord chancellor has been introduced into his Majeſty's preſence.

"That the prince of WALES, with the duke of YORK, has frequently made moſt reſpectful and dutiful application to be permitted to ſee the King their Father; but that they have met with a refuſal, on the idea that his Majeſty was by no means in a condition to be approached by them, without the danger of affecting his ſenſibility in ſuch a manner as to renew or increaſe his illneſs.

"They beg leave to inform your Majeſty, that, in ſuch a moment, the prince claims a right to ſee his father, as a gratification due to his feelings as a ſon. The prince claims acceſs to his Majeſty in right of his birth. He claims, at fitting times, and with proper precautions, an audience of the King, as being actually nominated by a bill, which has paſſed the houſe of commons,

mons, for adminiſtering the arduous and delicate truſt of his Majeſty's government during his illneſs.

"The rule of the prince of WALES's conduct muſt in a great meaſure be formed upon an accurate idea of his Majeſty's condition. He apprehends that he owes it to his Majeſty, and to his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects, to do all that in his power lies that no man ſhall make uſe of his Majeſty's name whilſt he labours under illneſs, which may redound to the detriment of his Majeſty's government,---which may, againſt his will, and by ſurpriſe, poſſibly tend to the diſhonour and diſadvantage of his family.

"Her Majeſty will naturally expect that the prince of WALES ſhould be exceedingly anxious and apprehenſive leſt, if he and the duke of YORK ſhould not ſee the King, (though they may be, againſt their wiſhes, excluded from his Majeſty's preſence) that circumſtance might be employed hereafter by perſons not well diſpoſed to your Majeſty, or to them, to prejudice his Majeſty's mind againſt them, as deficient in reverence, duty, and natural affection.

"If it is thought that their ſeeing his Majeſty might agitate his mind, and retard his recovery, the prince is ſure that the ſame reaſon might be urged with regard to the chancellor, who, by his character of miniſter, muſt naturally remind the King of his affairs of ſtate, and renew in his mind the cares and anxieties of his government.

"The prince of WALES deſires and requeſts as guarantees and witneſſes of the prudent uſe, which he and the duke of YORK will certainly make of this viſit of duty and reſpect, the preſence of two or more of the attending phyſicians, provided that all perſons who may operate on the King's mind by reſtraint be not preſent.

" The prince of WALES intreats, that, if the phyſicians ſhould be of opinion that his Majeſty's ſtate of health will not ſafely permit the deſired interview, the prince, for his future juſtification with the King, may receive that opinion in writing ſigned by them.

" The duke of YORK moſt humbly ſupplicates your Majeſty for the ſame indulgence in paying his humble and affectionate duty to the King, his Father."

This letter, though ſo well contrived to preclude the poſſibility of any fair objection or decent refuſal, had as little effect as the perſonal applications of the two princes. We cannot tell through whoſe advice in particular they were denied acceſs to their father. We are ſure that none of the ſurviving members of her majeſty's council will ever dare to avow himſelf the author of it. Such a man would deſerve to be inſtantly ſuffocated as a monſter. But we muſt pity a tender-hearted queen, forced to turn a deaf ear to the voice of nature, to the affectionate importunities of her own ſons !---forced to ſacrifice her feelings as a mother on the cruel altar of ſtate policy !

The laſt pieces relative to the regency, which Mr. BURKE wrote for the prince of WALES, were the anſwers of his royal highneſs to the delegates of the Iriſh parliament. A ſpirit of grateful acknowledgment and of the moſt captivating benignity breathed through every ſentence. As the education of princes generally tends rather to weaken than to invigorate their natural faculties, it is a happy thing when they have ſenſe enough to ſelect men of talents and integrity for their adviſers and aſſiſtants. By ſuch aids alone the dignity of the princely character is ſuſtained; the ſhew of being well qualified to govern a kingdom is kept up; and an applauding nation, without farther ſcrutiny, would give the prince full credit for the borrowed diſplay of genius

nius and virtue. Had Mr. BURKE poſſeſſed as much of the latter as he did of the former, he would have done honour to the confidence of the firſt monarch in the univerſe.

It is impoſſible to conceive a wider, and to all appearance a more irreparable breach than the debates concerning the regency ſeemed to have made between the miniſter and Mr. BURKE. The latter may be ſaid to have exhauſted all the terms of reproach and crimination; with which the Engliſh language could ſupply him, in his attacks upon the former. The *queſtions addreſſed to Mr.* GILL, already quoted, imply the ſtrongeſt charge againſt Mr. PITT, with *having centered in himſelf the whole power of the crown*;---with *having diſtributed, for power and profit, all the principal departments of the ſtate, and every honour and diſtinction, among his own relations and kindred*;---and with aiming at nothing leſs than *to turn the kingdom, under the falſe appearance of a republic, into a deſpotiſm for himſelf, and a job for his dependants.* His forcing the houſe to diſcuſs the queſtion of right was afterwards urged by Mr. BURKE as a proof of the miniſter's arbitrary ſpirit, and of his having made *ſic volo, ſic jubeo, ſtet pro ratione voluntas,* the rule of his proceedings. It was telling the houſe, in his haughty ſtile, *Slaves! do you preſume to heſitate, or hint a doubt upon the matter? I will put an end to your ſcruples. The queſtion ſhall be debated: it ſhall be decided.* They all knew, Mr. BURKE ſaid, the terms of the dominion, which the right honourable gentleman meant to exerciſe over the regent's government. It was a ſyſtem of as abſolute tyranny as any exerciſed by JULIUS CÆSAR, or OLIVER CROMWELL. Yet he had ſtooped for a moment from the height of ſovereign power, to combat a right which had not been claimed. "I diſlike," continued the orator, "that union of the fox's tail, and the lion's ſkin. It is an unnatural junction of low cunning, and ſupreme authority."

In the debate on the ſecond reading of the regency bill, Mr. BURKE aſſerted, that it was drawn up with a deſign to anſwer the raſh ends of the mad and daring ambition of a miniſter, whoſe conduct had but too plainly manifeſted his view and his intentions. There was a partition of power, in which the prince was deſtined to have only an official, a mere nominal character, while all the places, and real dignities, were given to another. This partition was more odious and offenſive, than the famous Partition Treaty, relative to the ſucceſſion, on the death of the laſt prince of the houſe of Auſtria. It was a partition founded on the moſt wicked and malicious principle: every thing that was degrading and reſtrictive, every thing that could ſtamp ſuſpicion and indignity on the prince's character, was implied in what the bill withheld from him; while, on the other hand, all that was graceful, all that was honourable, all that was calculated to hold up a character as great, virtuous, and meritorious, was given where an oppoſition was ſet up, to counteract the executive government. The right of a ſubject had been declared equal, and was in reality made paramount to the prince's right. The preſent miniſter had been called an *heaven-born* miniſter. It might be fairly ſuppoſed, therefore, that he had a divine right to take to himſelf a larger portion of power and of patronage, than he choſe to leave to the prince on the throne, that is to ſay, to the prince of WALES, ſitting on the throne in his delegated character, as the repreſentative of his father. If the miniſter was already declared by one of his fanatics [the duke of CHANDOS] to be an *heaven-born* miniſter, it was no wonder that he ſhould conſider himſelf as acting under the influence of a divine right, and that he ſhould go to any lengths to ſecure the power at which he aimed. An *heaven-born miniſter* was ſoon likely to become an *heaven-born monarch*. Gentlemen might

ſmile

ſmile at this doctrine; but the conduct of thoſe who ſupported ſuch a bill was reprehenſible,---degrading the royal family,---ſowing the ſeeds of diſtraction and diſunion in that family,---and verging to treaſons for which the juſtice of their country would one day overtake them.

As the miniſter had acquired great popularity by his doctrine of equal rights, by his making the regency elective, and by numberleſs reſtraints on the exerciſe of this delegated power, which tended in reality to eſtabliſh his own deſpotiſm under the ſhew of ſuſpended prerogatives and republican freedom, Mr. BURKE took uncommon pains to diſpel the charm, and to expoſe the ſnake that lay hid in this artificial garland of liberty. "If you mean," ſaid he, "to make a republic, why do you not make it in a manly way, and openly declare your intention? Were I aſked, whether I hated a republican ſpeculation? I would anſwer---No. But, I know that a republic cannot be ſpeculated upon, according to our conſtitution. I love, I revere, I adore the true principles of a republic; but is this the mode of inſtituting one? Oh republic! how art thou libelled!---how art thou proſtituted, buffooned, and burleſqued!--- Oh fabric! the labour of centuries, the admiration of ages, and cemented by the blood of patriots, how art thou degraded! As well might it be ſaid, that the mutilated creatures at the Opera Houſe are the repreſentatives of heroes, the true and perfect CATOS and BRUTUSES of Rome, as that this ſtrange and diſcordant chaos is the repreſentative of a real republic. Such an attempt to eſtabliſh a republic as the preſent is the certain way of having *a monſter* ſet over us, and of introducing the moſt hypocritical ſort of government to which it is poſſible to reſort."

It

In the debate on the ſecond reading of the regency bill, Mr. BURKE aſſerted, that it was drawn up with a deſign to anſwer the raſh ends of the mad and daring ambition of a miniſter, whoſe conduct had but too plainly manifeſted his view and his intentions. There was a partition of power, in which the prince was deſtined to have only an official, a mere nominal character, while all the places, and real dignities, were given to another. This partition was more odious and offenſive, than the famous Partition Treaty, relative to the ſucceſſion, on the death of the laſt prince of the houſe of Auſtria. It was a partition founded on the moſt wicked and malicious principle: every thing that was degrading and reſtrictive, every thing that could ſtamp ſuſpicion and indignity on the prince's character, was implied in what the bill withheld from him; while, on the other hand, all that was graceful, all that was honourable, all that was cal-
lated to hold up a character as great, virtuous, and meri-
was given where an oppoſition was ſet up, to count
ecutive government. The right of a ſubject l
equal, and was in reality made paramount t
The preſent miniſter had been called
It might be fairly ſuppoſed, therefore,
to take to himſelf a larger portion of
than he choſe to leave to the prince o:
ſay, to the prince of WALES, ſitting on
legated character, as the repreſentative of
miniſter was already declared by one of his f
of CHANDOS] to be an *heaven-born* miniſter, it w
that he ſhould conſider himſelf as acting under the
a divine right, and that he ſhould go to any lengths
the power at which he aimed. An *heaven-born miniſte*
ſoon likely to become an *heaven-born monarch*. Gentlemen mi
ſmile

ſmile at this doctrine; but the conduct of thoſe who ſupported ſuch a bill was reprehenſible,—degrading the royal ſtation, ſowing the ſeeds of diſtraction and diſunion in the nation, and verging to treaſons for which the juſtice of the ſorry would one day overtake them.

As the miniſter had acquired great popularity ... to take of equal rights, by his making the regency ... excluſively berleſs reſtraints on the exerciſe of this ... and outcaſts tended in reality to eſtabliſh his ... he was in- of ſuſpended prerogatives ... liberal patron- took uncommon pain... er by the hand, ſnake that ... or a ſervile ſyco- mean." ... the claims of the ...E's poor relations. ...t object of his regard. ...renada in the marquis ...nd upon this noblem...n's ...ned the more hon... ...cretary to the trea... ..., and the ſame in... ...riſtol, and one of t... Mr. BURKE alſo to... profitable job ... ſoon ... ſon forgotten ... ſtril... ...d his party we... ...er, ... joint receiver wit... ...ds; and, in addition ... ...ice, ...l FITZWILLIAM ma... ...e death of the marqui...

It is unneceſſary to give any more ſpecimens of theſe perſonal and political invectives. They ſeemed to leave no room for the poſſibility of a reconciliation. Even when Mr. PITT affected to expreſs great concern for the injury Mr. BURKE did himſelf by warmth and vehemence in debate, the latter indignantly replied, "that there was ſo much of malice in the right honourable gentleman's compaſſion, and ſo much of cenſure in his lamentations, that he hoped the right honourable gentleman would have the kindneſs to ſpare his pity, and to leave him out of his lamentations for the future." But how readily could Mr. BURKE alter this lofty tone, when he ſolicited the miniſter's *ſupport* and *protection* in the houſe of commons;---when he gave broad hints of his *long* and *unfruitful* exertions;---and when he humbly begged of Mr. PITT and Mr. DUNDAS, *not to be forced into any baſer and more degrading ſervitude!*

In our ſketch of the impeachment, we touched upon the firſt cauſes of Mr. BURKE's apoſtacy, and drew our proofs from his confeſſion to Mr. PAINE, and from his letter to Mr. DUNDAS. Let us now examine how far the deſponding and diſtreſſed ſituation, in which he found himſelf upon the king's recovery may be ſuppoſed to have co-operated with other motives in bringing about ſo extraordinary and ſo diſgraceful a change. Mr. BURKE, notwithſtanding the immenſe ſupplies he derived from a variety of reſources, was always in debt,---in debt ariſing from bad management, from thoughtleſs waſte,---not from generous or ſplendid profuſion. After he purchaſed the eſtate near Beaconsfield with the money given him by the marquis of ROCKINGHAM, he became his own farmer, with a view both to pleaſure and profit. In his expectations of the latter he was completely diſappointed;

and

and the active ſhare he took in public affairs left him but little time to enjoy the amuſements of agriculture. The produce of his eſtate, however, enabled him to entertain an almoſt conſtant ſucceſſion of friends during the ſummer receſs. An Iriſhman, without hoſpitality, would be a monſter indeed. We are ſorry we cannot add, for Mr. BURKE's honour, that the indigent man of genius was often invited to his table, or beckoned to take ſhelter under his roof. One would think he had excluſively reſerved the welcome of kindneſs for the runaways and outcaſts of France. It is farther remarkable, that, though he was indebted for his own riſe in the world to the moſt liberal patronage, he never took a diſtreſſed literary adventurer by the hand, unleſs that adventurer happened to be a relation, or a ſervile ſycophant. It was certainly laudable to attend to the claims of the numerous train of his own and Mrs. BURKE's poor relations. His brother RICHARD was naturally the firſt object of his regard. For him he procured the collectorſhip of Grenada in the marquis of ROCKINGHAM's firſt adminiſtration; and upon this nobleman's re-entrance into office, RICHARD obtained the more honourable and more lucrative appointment of ſecretary to the treaſury. It was through the ſame active affection, and the ſame intereſt, that RICHARD was made recorder of Briſtol, and one of the counſel in the proſecution of HASTINGS. Mr. BURKE alſo took care to introduce his own ſon into this profitable job, as ſoon as he was called to the bar; nor was the ſon forgotten in the diſtribution of places, when the father and his party were in power. Young RICHARD was appointed joint receiver with Dr. KING of the revenues of the crown lands; and, in addition to this office, which he retained for life, earl FITZWILLIAM made him auditor of his accounts, after the death of the marquis of ROCKINGHAM.

The

The other inſtances of Mr. BURKE's attention to his relations are numberleſs: they are to be met with in the war-office, in the pay-office, in the cuſtom-houſe, in the army, and the navy. Such proofs of his kind regard, ſo far from being mentioned by way of reproach, are entitled to the juſteſt praiſe. We only cenſure him for often refuſing to real merit in diſtreſs that aid and patronage, the want of which he himſelf had long felt; and for as often beſtowing his favors on dunces, who, without any other claim, had ſagacity enough to diſcover his weakneſs, and ſervility enough, in the vulgar, but very emphatical phraſe, to *cram* him with the groſſeſt adulation. Such, indeed, was Mr. BURKE's voracious appetite for applauſe, that he ſwallowed with indiſcriminate avidity the high-ſeaſoned compliments of a PARR, and the inſipid, taſteleſs, fulſome flattery of a KING, and a LAURENCE.

It is almoſt incredible what immenſe ſums of money were ſpent by Mr. BURKE, without any ſhew of magnificence, and with very few inſtances of real generoſity. We will not take into the account the ſale of his firſt penſion on the Iriſh eſtabliſhment, as the amount was neceſſary to the diſcharge of debts unavoidably incurred when he had no other reſource: nor are we diſpoſed to ſwell the bill of his expenditure by the caſh which he received for his works at different times from both the DODSLEYS; becauſe, though they paid liberally, yet the ſum total would make no great figure compared with Mr. BURKE's other ſupplies. From the late marquis of ROCKINGHAM he received about thirty thouſand pounds, in the ſhape, or under the name of various loans; but all the bonds and obligations, as we before obſerved, were cancelled. The late earl VERNEY, if we may depend upon his own word, was almoſt as liberal as the marquis,

marquis, having from time to time lent Mr. BURKE and his brother very near twenty thouſand pounds. It is certain that the earl was almoſt beggared by that connection. Of the ſums advanced to Mr. BURKE on every emergency by ſir JOSHUA REYNOLDS, we have no memorial, except the notice of a bond for two thouſand pounds which was cancelled in ſir JOSHUA's will, and a bequeſt of two thouſand pounds more. Mr. BURKE was afterwards very ſtrongly, though we think very unjuſtly, ſuſpected of having had another ſlice of ſir JOSHUA's fortune, for bringing about a marriage between the earl of INCHIQUIN, and miſs PALMER, ſir JOSHUA's niece and heireſs. Youth, beauty, and fortune are often matched with age, poverty, and a title. The earl lived within a few miles of Beaconsfield; he often viſited at Mr. BURKE's; ſaw miſs PALMER there; and paid his addreſſes. Is there any thing extraordinary in ſuppoſing a young lady dazzled by the ſplendors of a coronet, without the influence of Mr. BURKE's perſuaſion? He was, indeed, very ſucceſsful in getting good wives for many of his friends; and it has often been remarked, with more pleaſantry than the ſubject can well admit of, that having ſo frequently tried his hand in bringing private parties together, and making matrimonial matches, he felt leſs diffidence, and was reſtrained by leſs delicacy in forming public and political coalitions.

Among the number of thoſe who occaſionally contributed to the ſupport of Mr. BURKE's expences, or to the relief of his wants, we muſt not omit mentioning his amiable phyſician Dr. BROCKLESBY, whoſe purſe was almoſt as much at Mr. BURKE's command as his medical advice. The laſt time that Mr. BURKE gave the doctor a delicate hint of ſome great embarraſſment which he then felt, the doctor immediately replied in a tone of

the ſincereſt friendſhip, " my dear ſir, I have left you a thouſand pounds in my will, in caſe you ſhould be the ſurvivor. But let us leave nothing to chance---I had much better be my own executor, and pay you that ſmall legacy beforehand."

But neither the aſſiſtance of friendſhip, nor the occaſional emoluments of office, nor the extraordinary rewards of his political and literary ſervices, could ſupply the conſtant drops, the unguarded and numerous, though narrow outlets of Mr. BURKE's expenditure. His debts increaſed, while the number of his opulent and liberal ſupporters was gradually leſſened. The marquis of ROCKINGHAM and ſir JOSHUA REYNOLDS were dead; and earl VERNEY was floating on the laſt plank of a ſhipwrecked fortune. Mr. BURKE's health was very much impaired by the almoſt inceſſant fatigue of private ſtudy and parliamentary debate. He did not, indeed, as was often imagined, write any of his ſpeeches beforehand; but, upon every grand occaſion, his preparatory efforts were aſtoniſhing: he read; he deeply meditated; and when his genius kindled, or his fancy took wing, he ſtarted up---he harangued---he declaimed aloud---he rehearſed, as it were, every ſpeech, with all the ardour and animation of reality. But, though his frame was robuſt, it could not ſuſtain ſuch violent, ſuch perſevering exertions---

———" The labours of the mind corrode
" The ſtrongeſt fabric"———

And Mr. BURKE's mental labours, particularly during the impeachment of HASTINGS, and the debates on the regency, were unparalleled. It is alſo probable that the means which he frequently employed to ſtimulate his languid powers, though attended with a temporary, or, at leaſt, an imaginary benefit,

proved

proved ultimately injurious to the fine internal machinery. Whenever he found himſelf indiſpoſed, he ordered a kettle of water to be kept boiling, and he drank large quantities of it, ſometimes ſo much as four, or even five quarts in a morning, without any mixture or infuſion, and as hot as he could bear. His manner was to pour about a pint at a time into a baſon, and to drink it with a ſpoon, as if it was ſoup. *Warm* water, he ſaid, would relax and nauſeate; but *hot* water was the fineſt ſtimulant and moſt powerful reſtorative in the world. He certainly thought it a ſovereign cure for every complaint; and not only took it himſelf, but preſcribed it, with the confidence of a SANGRADO, to every patient that came in his way.

Warm water, however, with all its fancied efficacy, could not ſoothe the irritations of diſtreſs; nor was Mr. BURKE's falſe pride calculated to ſupport long the honours of virtuous poverty. The pay-office had juſt appeared to be within his graſp; but the moment he was going to ſeize it, the king recovered; his miniſters acquired a ſtability which bade defiance to attack; and Mr. BURKE's proſpects ſeemed to be darkened for ever. How could he now expect any favour from that ſovereign, over whoſe affliction he had ſo often indulged in ſallies of the moſt indecent triumph? How could he make any advances to that miniſter, upon whoſe character he had rung all the changes of contempt, abuſe, ſcurrility, and crimination? Whichever way he turned, the political horizon was overcaſt, when, on a ſudden, a ray of hope, from what was paſſing in France, ſhot through the ſurrounding glooms, and ſhewed Mr. BURKE a certain, though dirty and diſgraceful paſſage to the throne.

It is not our deſign to enter into the hiſtory of the French revolution, or into a detail of the crimes of former tyrants which

provoked, and of the errors of the late reign which accelerated that event. But our readers will, we hope, pardon us for preſenting them with a faithful picture of the ſtate of France, before the people were at length rouzed to ſhake off the galling yoke of oppreſſion. The picture is drawn by thoſe ever memorable, ever to be revered patriots, who drew alſo their ſwords in vindication of the ſacred and inalienable rights of man. "What," they aſk, "was France? She had a king, deſpotic, when he choſe to do miſchief---but, to promote the public welfare, powerleſs as a child. She had a miniſterial power in place of an executive authority---a ſubdivided deſpotiſm---a government not *conducted*, but *undertaken*---a judicature let to farm---a ſtate which could neither keep faith with others, nor with itſelf---a treaſury overflowing by exaction, or exhauſted by prodigality---a private purſe proſtituted, without the ſovereign's knowledge, for the vileſt purpoſes upon the vileſt men---a clergy, ſtanding in place of the church, and a nobility in place of the nation---a war of privileged orders againſt the order of ſociety---a government intereſt, an ariſtocratic intereſt, a clerical intereſt, a mercantile intereſt---but the intereſt of the community, the whole, the population of France, laid between the hammer and the anvil, and beaten with alternate ſtrokes of rent, profit, tythe, and taxation. The peaſantry of France, the maſs of the people, what were they? A ſet of beings, with their females, their young, and their domeſtic animals, herding together in hovels open to the ſtorm, and bare of all furniture, the window a hole, and the door a chimney---of the world knowing nothing, of their country little more than the market where they ſometimes went to barter one neceſſary of life for another---their daily bread, for ſomething to *cover*, rather than to *clothe* them---their manners ſavage---their language a jargon,

a jargon, barren in their expreſſions, becauſe ſcanty in ideas, and unintelligible even in the next city---their bodies bent, their ſpirits broken---ſuffering, with the tameneſs of mutilated brutes, the repeated laſh of feudal exactions---ſubjected, they knew not why, to a man dreſſed in lace, who, by a ſtroke of a pen, transferred into his pocket half the fruits of their annual labour, gathered with the ſweat of their brow, and in the agony of their ſouls---congregated on certain days into a ſort of barn, where they ſat huddled together at a ceremony which they could not underſtand, liſtening to another man dreſſed in black, whom they were compelled to pay for not underſtanding---ſometimes abandoning their homes and their families, when they happened to hear the rattle of a drum, and engaging before another man dreſſed in ſcarlet, to get themſelves killed, or to kill their fellow-creatures in a *foreign* land, for a quarter of what they had earned by induſtry in *their own*."

Such was the ſtate of France at that time. The redemption of the country took its riſe from the very cauſes of public calamity---the extremity of national grievance, and the total corruption of a conſtitution which was to be reformed only by regeneration. The evil lay too deep to be cured by any remedy ſhort of a great convulſion. It took place. A ſlow and partial reform would have ended where it began. From a ſingle ſtump remaining in the earth, freſh abuſes would have ſprung up. It was therefore neceſſary to lay the axe to the root of the evil, not to the branches. A blow was ſtruck, which reſounded over Europe, and ſhot alarm through every tyrant's heart. The friends of freedom rejoiced: the plunderers and oppreſſors of mankind gnaſhed their teeth, and trembled. Mr. BURKE ſaw his time, and did not fail to improve it. He well knew that it was

was impoſſible for him to employ any means ſo effectual as an attack upon the French revolution, in order to ſecure Mr. PITT's favor, with a complete oblivion of all his paſt invectives againſt *the cabal, the faction, the old hacks, the mercenary Swiſs of the court.* But an impoſing veil was firſt to be woven for the concealment of his own baſeneſs, and the ſtill more wicked purpoſe of national deluſion. A near relation and confidential friend of the baron DE MENOU, who afterwards filled the preſident's chair in the French aſſembly, had lately opened a correſpondence with Mr. BURKE, whoſe opinions upon what was then doing at Paris were eagerly requeſted by the young ſtateſman. Mr. BURKE's anſwer, which was written in October 1789, and which he then intended to publiſh, is a maſterpiece of deception. Under the ſhew of the utmoſt delicacy and diffidence, he half diſcovers his ſentiments, artfully blending them with ſuch principles as no perſon could eaſily controvert, but from which he might afterwards draw ſophiſtical inferences, to juſtify an open diſavowal or recantation of his former tenets. With what an air of modeſty does he begin this letter, a copy of which is now before us! "As you are pleaſed," he ſays to his correſpondent, "to think that your ſplendid flame of liberty was firſt lighted up at my faint and glimmering taper, you have a right to call upon me for my ſentiments on whatever relates to that ſubject." He then makes an apology for paſt delay, and goes on thus:

"You may eaſily believe, that I have had my eyes turned with great curioſity, and no ſmall concernment, to the aſtoniſhing ſcene now diſplayed in France. It has certainly given riſe in my mind to many reflexions, and to ſome emotions. Theſe are natural and unavoidable; but it would ill become me to be too

too ready in forming a poſitive opinion upon matters tranſacted in a country, with the correct political map of which I muſt be very imperfectly acquainted. Things, indeed, have already happened ſo much beyond the ſcope of all ſpeculation, that perſons of infinitely more ſagacity than I am, ought to be aſhamed of any thing like confidence in reaſoning upon the operation of any principle, or the effect of any meaſure. It would become me leaſt of all to be ſo confident, who ought, at my time of life, to have well learned the important leſſon of ſelf-diſtruſt,---a leſſon of no ſmall value in company with the beſt information,---but which, alone, can make any ſort of amends for our not having learned other leſſons ſo well as it was our buſineſs to learn them. I beg you, once for all, to apply this corrective of diffidence in my own judgment to whatever I may happen to ſay with more poſitiveneſs than ſuits my knowledge and ſituation. Never ſuppoſe that any appearance that I may ſhew of diſapprobation to what is now tranſacted is meant to expreſs more than a doubt. We have but one advantage over you in France---we are nearer to the character of cool bye-ſtanders."

This introduction is perfectly of a piece with the fallacious principles that follow. We call them *fallacious*, becauſe they may be twiſted and turned to any ſide of the queſtion which a ſubtle reaſoner might find it his intereſt to adopt. "You hope, ſir," continues Mr. BURKE, "that I think the French deſerving of liberty. I certainly do. I certainly think that all men who deſire it, deſerve it. It is not the reward of our merit, or the acquiſition of our induſtry. It is our inheritance. It is the birthright of our ſpecies. We cannot forfeit our right to it, but by what forfeits our title to the privileges of our kind, I mean the abuſe or oblivion of our national faculties; and a ferocious

cious indocility, which makes us prompt to wrong and violence, deſtroys our ſocial nature, and transforms us into ſomething little better than the deſcription of wild beaſts. To men ſo degraded, a ſtate of ſtrong conſtraint is a ſort of neceſſary ſubſtitute for freedom; ſince, bad as it is, it may deliver them, in ſome meaſure, from the worſt of all ſlavery, that is the deſpotiſm of their own blind and brutal paſſions. You have kindly ſaid, that you began to love freedom from your intercourſe with me. Permit me then to continue our converſation, and to tell you what the freedom is that I love. It is not ſolitary, unconnected, individual, ſelfiſh liberty. It is ſocial freedom. It is that ſtate of things, in which the liberty of no man and no body of men is in a condition to treſpaſs on the liberty of any perſon, or any deſcription of perſons in ſociety. This kind of liberty is, indeed, but another name for juſtice, aſcertained by wiſe laws, and ſecured by well-conſtructed inſtitutions. I am ſure that liberty, ſo incorporated, and in a manner identified with juſtice, muſt be infinitely dear to every man who is capable of conceiving what it is. But whenever a ſeparation is made between liberty and juſtice, neither is, in my opinion, ſafe. I do not believe, that men ever did ſubmit, certain I am that they never ought to have ſubmitted, to the arbitrary pleaſure of one man, but under circumſtances, in which the arbitrary pleaſure of many perſons in the community preſſed with an intolerable hardſhip upon the juſt and equal rights of their fellows. Such a choice might be made as among evils. The moment *will* is ſet above reaſon and juſtice in any community, a great queſtion may ariſe in ſober minds, in what part or portion of the community that dangerous dominion of *will* may be the leaſt miſchievouſly placed."

Let

Let us now ſee how cautiouſly he applies his general principle to the particular caſe of the French. "If," ſays he, "I think all men who cultivate juſtice entitled to liberty, and, when joined in ſtates, entitled to a conſtitution framed to perpetuate and ſecure it; you may be aſſured, ſir, that I think your countrymen eminently worthy of a bleſſing, which, good as it is for all, is peculiarly adapted to noble, generous, and humane natures. Such I found the French, when, more than fifteen years ago, I had the happineſs, though but for a ſhort time, of viſiting your country; and I truſt their character is not altered ſince I had the means of obſerving it more nearly than I am able to do at preſent. I have nothing to check my wiſhes towards the eſtabliſhment of a ſolid and rational ſcheme of liberty in France. On the ſubject of the relative power of nations I may have prejudices; but I envy internal freedom, ſecurity, and good order to none. When, therefore, I ſhall learn, that in France, the citizen, by whatever deſcription he is qualified, is in a perfect ſtate of legal ſecurity, with regard to his life, to his property, to the uncontrolled diſpoſal of his perſon, to the free uſe of his induſtry and his faculties;---when I hear, that he is protected in the beneficial enjoyment of the eſtates, to which by the courſe of ſettled law he was born, or is provided with a fair compenſation for them; that he is maintained in the full fruition of the advantages belonging to the ſtate and condition of life, in which he had lawfully engaged himſelf, or is ſupplied with an equitable equivalent;---when I am aſſured that a ſimple citizen may decently expreſs his ſentiments upon public affairs, without hazard to his life or ſafety, even though againſt a predominant and faſhionable opinion;---when I know all this of France, I ſhall be as well pleaſed as every one muſt be, who

has not forgot the general communion of mankind, nor loſt his natural ſympathy in local and accidental connexions."

The beſt comment on all this canting, the beſt elucidation of Mr. BURKE's real deſign in laying down ſuch doctrines, appears in a ſecond letter addreſſed to the ſame correſpondent, but intended, as well as the former, for the people of England. We ſhall ſoon be able to trace the cauſe of their not having been printed; but let us firſt inſert a few extracts from the latter. After ſome compliments on the taſte, judgment, and genius of his young friend, he throws off a great part of the reſerve and diſguiſe, which he had before thought neceſſary; and ſays, "With regard to the ſtate of things in France, I am afraid that, as matters appear to me at preſent, I cannot at all agree with you, until at leaſt my information is as good as yours. I hope you do not think me weak enough to form my opinion of what is doing there upon the repreſentations in newſpapers, much leſs upon thoſe of the newſpapers of a country in which the true ſpirit of the ſeveral tranſactions cannot be generally known. Engliſh newſpapers, however, do not, I believe, lead the opinions of people here; but, as I conceive, rather follow the current of the notions moſt prevalent. As for me, I have read, and with ſome attention, the authoriſed, or rather the equally authentic documents on this ſubject, from the firſt inſtructions to the repreſentatives of the ſeveral orders down to this time. What elſe I have read has been for the greater part on the ſide of thoſe who have a conſiderable ſhare in the formation and conduct of public meaſures. A great many of the moſt deciſive events, I conceive, are not diſputed as facts, though, as uſual, there is ſome diſpute about their cauſes, and their tendency. On comparing the whole of fact, of public document,

and

and of what can be diſcerned of the general temper of the French people, I perfectly agree with you that there is very little likelihood of the old government's regaining its former authority. Were the king to eſcape from his palace where he is now in reality a priſoner with his wife and almoſt his whole family, to what place could he fly? Every town in France is a Paris. I ſee no way, by which a ſecond revolution can be accompliſhed. The only chance ſeems to conſiſt in the extreme inſtability of every ſpecies of power, and the uncertainty of every kind of ſpeculation. In this I agree with you; in moſt other particulars I can by no means go ſo far. That a police is eſtabliſhed at Paris, I can readily believe. They have an army, as I hear, of ſix thouſand men, apparently under their command. They have ſome militia too in pretty conſtant ſervice; and this militia may be augmented to almoſt any given number for any exigency. They have the means of preſerving quiet; and ſince they have completely obtained their ends, they muſt have the diſpoſition. A total anarchy is a ſelf-deſtructive thing. But if the ſame ends ſhould hereafter require the ſame courſes, which have been already purſued, there is no doubt but the ſame ferocious delight in murder and the ſame ſavage cruelty will be again renewed. If any of thoſe horrid deeds, which ſurely have not been miſrepreſented to us, were the acts of the rulers, what are we to think of an armed people under ſuch rulers? Or if, (which poſſibly may be the caſe) there is in reality and ſubſtance no ruler, and that the chiefs are driven before the people rather than lead them; and if the armed corps are compoſed of men who have no fixed principle of obedience, and are embodied only by the prevalence of ſome general inclination; who can repute himſelf ſafe among a people ſo furious and ſenſeleſs? As to the deſtruction of the *Baſtile*, of

which you ſpeak, we both know it was a thing in itſelf of no conſequence whatever. The *Baſtile* was at firſt intended as a citadel undoubtedly; and when it was built, it might ſerve the purpoſes of a citadel. Of late, in that view, it was ridiculous. It could not contain any garriſon ſufficient to awe ſuch a city as Paris. As a priſon, it was of as little importance. Give deſpotiſm, and the priſons of deſpotiſm will not be wanting, any more than lamp-irons will be wanting to democratic fury." Mr. BURKE, and his correſpondent, and every man of the leaſt capacity in Europe, muſt have been convinced, that the deſtruction of the *Baſtile* was an event of the greateſt conſequence. That fortreſs of deſpotiſm had been deemed impregnable; and when the report of its being taken reached Verſailles, it was univerſally diſcredited by all the poor, cowardly, debilitated *reptiles that burrowed under the throne*, and had no idea of the giant powers of *freemen*. But when the intelligence was confirmed, they fled in deſpair, and abandoned to his fate the weak monarch who had been the dupe of their pernicious counſels. Even marſhal BROGLIO turned pale as death, and gave up every thing for loſt, when he ſaw the flag of liberty diſplayed over the ruins of thoſe dungeons contrived by deſpotiſm to gratify its capricious cruelty, and to extinguiſh in their firſt glow all the vital ſparks of public ſpirit.

But Mr. BURKE's ſtrongeſt objection to the great arch of national freedom, which the French were then erecting, was, he confeſſes, its not being faſhioned upon any *old model*, but partly upon *eſtabliſhments lately made*, and partly upon the *rights of man*. "In all appearance," he tells his friend, "the new ſyſtem is a moſt bungling, and unworkmanlike performance. I confeſs I ſee no principle of coherence, co-operation, or juſt ſubordination of parts

parts in this whole project, nor any the leaſt aptitude to the condition and wants of the ſtate to which it is applied, nor any thing well imagined for the formation, proviſion, or direction of a common force. The direct contrary appears to me. *I think it carries evident marks of the incurable ignorance of this moſt unenlightened age, the leaſt qualified for legiſlation that perhaps has been ſince the firſt formation of civil ſociety.*" Yet TOM PAINE thinks this to be *the age of reaſon*; but what is the opinion of PAINE or of the reſt of the world, when oppoſed to that of a man, who mounting the tribunal of ſuperlative conceit and arrogance, paſſes ſentence upon all his cotemporaries of the human race, and conſigns them to incurable ignorance and ſtupidity!

There was one principle of nature, however, which Mr. BURKE ſays, the French legiſlators could not entirely overthrow. "Man is a gregarious animal. He will by degrees provide ſome convenience ſuitable to this his natural diſpoſition; and this ſtrange thing may, ſome time or other, aſſume a more habitable form. The fiſh will at length make a ſhell which will fit him. I beg pardon for dwelling ſo long and employing ſo much thought upon a ſubject, on which its contrivers have evidently employed ſo little. I cannot," he adds, "think with you, that the aſſembly have done much. They have, indeed, *undone* a great deal, and ſo completely broken up their country as a ſtate, that I aſſure you, there are few here ſuch *antigallicans* as not to feel ſome pity on the deplorable view of the wreck of France." [Was there any *malice in this compaſſion?*] "I confeſs to you that, till I ſaw it, I could not conceive that any men in public could have ſhewn ſo little mercy to their country. You ſay, my dear ſir, that they read MONTESQUIEU---I believe not. If they do, they do not underſtand him." [How ſhould Frenchmen, convicted of *incurable ignorance*, underſtand

ſtand a book, though written in their own language, without the aid of Mr. BURKE's preternatural light?] " He is often obſcure; ſometimes miſled by ſyſtem; but, on the whole, a learned, and ingenious writer, and ſometimes a moſt profound thinker. Sure it is, that they have not followed him in any one thing they have done. Had he lived at this time, he would certainly be among the fugitives from France. With regard to the other writers you ſpeak of, I do believe the directors of the preſent ſyſtem to be influenced by them. Such maſters, ſuch ſcholars. Who ever dreamt of VOLTAIRE and ROUSSEAU as legiſlators? The firſt has the merit of writing agreeably; and nobody has ever united blaſphemy and obſcenity ſo happily together. The other was not a little deranged in his intellects, to my almoſt certain knowledge." [Mr. BURKE had ſtudied inſanity, till he himſelf became almoſt inſane, and looked upon every body as a fool, or a madman, who happened to differ from him in opinion.] " But he [ROUSSEAU] ſaw things in bold and uncommon lights, and he was very eloquent---But as to the reſt!---I have read long ſince the *Contrat Social.* It has left very few traces upon my mind. I thought it a performance of little or no merit; and little did I conceive, that it could ever make revolutions, and give law to nations. But ſo it is. I ſee ſome people here are willing that we ſhould become their ſcholars too, and reform our ſtate on the French model. They have begun; and it is high time for thoſe who wiſh to preſerve *morem majorum,* to look about them." Mr. BURKE *did look about him*; but it was for a ſpecious opportunity of deſerting his old friends, and publiſhing to the world his deceitful opinions. It was not long before ſuch an opportunity preſented itſelf.

On

On the fifth of February 1790, when the eſtimates of the army and ordnance ſervices were laid before the houſe of commons, Mr. Fox contended for a prudent decreaſe of our military eſtabliſhments, and for applying the revenue thereby ſaved to the extinction of our debt. At the ſame time he acknowledged, that, if ever there could be a period in which he ſhould be leſs jealous than uſual of an increaſe of the army, from any danger to be apprehended to the conſtitution, the preſent was that preciſe period. The example of a neighbouring nation had proved, that former imputations upon ſtanding armies were unfounded calumnies; and it was now univerſally known through all Europe, *that a man, by becoming a* SOLDIER, *did not ceaſe to be a* CITIZEN. It was not, therefore, in a conſtitutional point of view that he dreaded the increaſe of the army, but on the ground of œconomy. Nothing but idle chimeras or mere pretence could be urged as a reaſon for keeping up ſo large and expenſive an eſtabliſhment. The new form, which the government of France was likely to aſſume, would, he was perſuaded, render her a better neighbour, and leſs propenſe to hoſtility, than when ſhe was ſubject to the cabal and intrigues of ambitious and intereſted ſtateſmen. Some perſons indeed might be of opinion that this was the time to take advantage of the ſituation of France. That opinion in one ſenſe coincided with his own. But how was an advantage to be taken? *Not by triumphing in her diſtreſs,---not by imitating her conduct towards this country in the late war;---but by convincing her, that we could at once be generous towards her and conſiderate for ourſelves, by reducing our eſtabliſhment with a view to the dimunition of our national incumbrances.*

Mr. BURKE paid no regard to the wiſdom or dignity of ſuch ſentiments: he only conſidered what uſe he could make of one of

Mr

Mr. Fox's declarations, to effect the firſt breach in their friendſhip, which he knew would be quickly widened into an irreconcilable diſunion. He went down to the houſe, fully prepared for this purpoſe, on the ninth of February, when the vote of ſupply for the army came a ſecond time under conſideration. He ſtill kept up a ſhew of oppoſition to the miniſter, maintaining that confidence was, of all public virtues, the moſt dangerous; and jealouſy, in an houſe of commons, of all public vices, the moſt tolerable; eſpecially, when the number and the charge of ſtanding armies were the queſtion. But it was ſoon evident that the main drift of his ſpeech was to combat what Mr. Fox had advanced in the former debate reſpecting the French revolution. After declaring that he conſidered France, in a political light, as expunged out of the ſyſtem of Europe, he admitted that it was ſtill our duty to keep our eye on that country, and to regulate our preparation by the ſymptoms of her recovery. France, he obſerved, had always been an object of our vigilance, either with regard to her actual power, or to her influence and example. As to the former, France was low indeed---ſhe had loſt every thing, even to her name: as to the latter, he ſhould ſay, that our friendſhip and our intercourſe with that nation had formerly been, and might become again, more dangerous than their worſt hoſtility. In the laſt age we had been in danger of being entangled by the example of France in the net of a relentleſs deſpotiſm: our preſent danger, from the model of a people whoſe character knew no medium, was that of being led, through an admiration of ſucceſsful fraud and violence, to imitate the exceſſes of an irrational, unprincipled, proſcribing, confiſcating, plundering, ferocious, bloody, and tyrannical democracy. The French had made their way through the deſtruction of their country to a bad conſtitution,

when

when they were abſolutely in poſſeſſion of a good one. They deſtroyed all the balances and checks which ſerve to give ſteadineſs to a conſtitution; and melted down the whole into one incongruous maſs. With the moſt atrocious perfidy they laid the axe to the root of property, and conſequently of national proſperity, by the principles they eſtabliſhed, and the example they ſet in confiſcating the poſſeſſions of the church. They made and recorded a ſort of inſtitute and digeſt of anarchy, called *the rights of man*;---an inſtitute that ſubverted the ſtate, and brought on ſuch calamities as no country without a long war had ever been known to ſuffer. He was ſorry that a proceeding like this ſhould by any one be compared to the glorious event, *commonly called the Revolution*, in England. The circumſtances of our revolution and that of France were the reverſe of each other in almoſt every particular. With us, it was the caſe of a legal monarch attempting arbitrary power: in France, it was the caſe of an arbitrary monarch beginning, from whatever cauſe, to legalize his authority. With us, we got rid of the man, and preſerved the conſtituent parts of the ſtate---what we did was, in truth and in a conſtitutional light, a revolution, not made, but prevented: in France, a blind and cruel democracy had carried every thing before them---they had no other ſyſtem than a determination to deſtroy all order, ſubvert all arrangement, and reduce every rank and deſcription of men to one level---their ſignal of attack was the war-whoop, their liberty licentiouſneſs, and their religion atheiſm. But, in his opinion, the very worſt part of their ſyſtem, becauſe the moſt dangerous when viewed as an example, was in *the late aſſumption of citizenſhip by the army*, and the whole of the arrangement, or rather diſarrangement, of their military. He was ſorry that his right honourable friend (Mr. Fox) had dropped

even a word expreſſive of exultation on that circumſtance; or that he ſeemed of opinion that the objection from ſtanding armies was at all leſſened by it. He attributed this opinion of Mr. Fox entirely to his known zeal for the beſt of all cauſes, liberty. It was with a pain inexpreſſible, he pretended, that he was obliged to have even the ſhadow of a difference with one whoſe authority would be always great with him, and with all thinking people. But the houſe would perceive, from his coming forward to mark an expreſſion or two of his beſt friend, how anxious he was to keep the diſtemper of France from the leaſt countenance in England, where he was ſure ſome wicked perſons had ſhewn a ſtrong diſpoſition to recommend an imitation of the French ſpirit of reform. He was ſo ſtrongly oppoſed to any the leaſt tendency towards the means of introducing a democracy like theirs, as well as to the end itſelf, that much as it would afflict him, if ſuch thing could be attempted, and that any friend of his could concur in ſuch meaſures, he would abandon his beſt friends, and join with his worſt enemies to oppoſe either the means or the end.

Such were the leading points in Mr. BURKE's ſpeech, as really delivered in that debate, and as committed to writing by himſelf next day; though it afterwards underwent a variety of alterations before it was printed for inſertion in the third volume of his works. The reply made by Mr. Fox afforded a fine ſpecimen of that openneſs, candour, and generoſity of ſoul which ſo ſtrongly mark his character. After ſtating the concern of mind with which he roſe to anſwer the latter part of a ſpeech, which, ſome obſervations and arguments excepted, he admired as one of the wiſeſt and moſt brilliant pieces of oratory ever uttered in that houſe; and after acknowledging in the warmeſt language the improvement which he had derived from his right honourable friend's

friend's inſtruction and converſation; he ſtill adhered to his former declaration, that if ever he could look at a ſtanding army with leſs conſtitutional jealouſy than before, it was now, ſince, during the late tranſactions in France, the army had manifeſted, that, *on becoming* SOLDIERS, *they did not ceaſe to continue* CITIZENS, *and would* NOT *act as the mere* INSTRUMENTS OF A DESPOT. When he deſcribed himſelf as exulting over the ſucceſs of ſome of the late attempts in France, he certainly meant to pay a juſt tribute of applauſe to thoſe, who, feelingly alive to a ſenſe of the oppreſſions under which their countrymen had groaned, diſobeyed the deſpotic commands of their leaders, and gallantly eſpouſed the cauſe of their fellow-citizens, in a ſtruggle for the acquiſition of that liberty, the felicities of which we all enjoyed. He begged, however, not to be miſunderſtood in his ideas of liberty. True liberty could only exiſt amidſt the union and co-operation of the different powers which compoſed the legiſlative and the executive government. Never ſhould he lend himſelf to ſupport any cabal or ſcheme, formed in order to introduce any *dangerous* innovation into our excellent conſtitution: he would not, however, run the length of profeſſing to be an enemy to *every ſpecies of innovation*. That conſtitution, which we all revered, owed its perfection to innovation; for, however admirable the theory, experience was the true teſt of its order and beauty.

In vain did Mr. BURKE attempt to diſtinguiſh between innovation and reform: in vain did he ſtrive to hide his treacherous views under repeated declarations, that the amputation of a limb could ſcarcely give him more pain than the circumſtance of violently and publicly differing from Mr. FOX in opinion: his political hypocriſy did not deceive the penetrating eye of Mr. SHERIDAN, who roſe, he ſaid, with regret, but felt it his duty to declare,

that he differed decidedly from Mr. BURKE in almoſt every word that he had uttered reſpecting the French revolution. He expreſſed his ſurpriſe at its being poſſible for a man of Mr. BURKE's general principles, or indeed for any man who valued our own conſtitution, and revered the revolution that obtained it for us, to unite with ſuch feelings an indignant and unqualified abhorrence of all the proceedings of the patriotic party in France. He defended the general views and conduct of the national aſſembly: he could not even underſtand what was meant by the charge againſt them of having overturned the laws, the juſtice, and the revenues of their country. What were their laws? The arbitrary mandates of capricious deſpotiſm. What their juſtice? The partial adjudications of venal magiſtrates. What their revenues? National bankruptcy. This he thought the fundamental error of the right honourable gentleman's argument, that he accuſed the national aſſembly of creating the evils, which they had found exiſting in full deformity at the firſt hour of their meeting. The public creditor had been defrauded,---the manufacturer was without employ,---trade was languiſhing---famine clang upon the poor---deſpair on all! Was it to be wondered at, by *Engliſhmen*, that a people, ſo circumſtanced, ſhould ſearch for the cauſe and ſource of all their calamities; or that they ſhould find them in the arbitrary conſtitution of their government, and in the prodigal and corrupt adminiſtration of their revenues? For ſuch an evil, when proved, what remedy could be reſorted to, but a radical amendment of the frame and fabric of the conſtitution itſelf? He was as ready as Mr. BURKE to deteſt the enormities which had been committed; but what was the ſtriking leſſon, the awful moral, that theſe outrages taught? A deeper abhorrence of that ſyſtem of deſpotic government, which had ſo deformed

formed and corrupted human nature; of a ſpecies of government that trampled upon the property, the liberty, and the lives of its ſubjects; that dealt in extortions, dungeons, and torture; that ſet an example of depravity, of inſenſibility, of callous cruelty to the ſlaves it ruled over; and that prepared beforehand a day of ſanguinary vengeance, when the irritated populace ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of power. But whatever were theſe outrages, was the national aſſembly in any reſpect anſwerable for them---that aſſembly, which had exerted a firmneſs and perſeverance hitherto unexampled, had ſecured the liberty of France, and vindicated the cauſe of mankind? What action of theirs authoriſed the appellation of *a bloody, ferocious, and tyrannical democracy?* Mr. BURKE had aſſerted that the French might have received a good conſtitution from the monarch. Had it then been prepared for them in the camp of marſhal BROGLIO? Or were they to ſearch for it in the ruins of the Baſtile?

Theſe queſtions and ſeveral other very pointed remarks made by Mr. SHERIDAN ſtung Mr. BURKE to the quick. Feeling that no ſubterfuge was left him---no room for farther diſſimulation---he burſt out into an avowal of open war, and declared that his honourable friend and he were from that moment *ſeparated in politics for ever*. Then, in a querulous tone, he affected to complain of that gentleman's want of fairneſs and candour:---he thought ſomething was due to the ghoſt of departed friendſhip:---yet his own method of diſcharging that debt was by a malignant inference, that Mr. SHERIDAN had made a ſacrifice of his friendſhip in exchange for the applauſe of clubs and aſſociations, an acquiſition too inſignificant, Mr. BURKE ſaid, to be worth the price at which it was purchaſed.

Mr.

Mr. PITT did *not* conclude the debate, as Mr. BURKE would have us believe, "with a reſerve on both ſides of the queſtion." He explicitly avowed "his perfect agreement with Mr. BURKE in almoſt every point that he had urged relative to the late commotions in France. He felt himſelf bound," he ſaid, "to acknowledge, that the ſentiments Mr. BURKE had that day profeſſed reſpecting the Britiſh conſtitution filled him with the ſincereſt ſatisfaction; and the manner, in which he had pledged himſelf to maintain it for ever inviolate, entitled him to the gratitude of his cotemporary fellow citizens, and of poſterity." There is not a man in England who would have queſtioned Mr. PITT's veracity, had he candidly confeſſed, that the acrimony of Mr. BURKE's invectives againſt the French revolution ſecured to him both the gratitude and the admiration of the miniſter and of the whole *cabal*.

The diſcerning and public ſpirited author of "*Utrum Horum*" tells us in one of the notes to that excellent pamphlet, that, under a ſtrong perſuaſion that the difference between Mr. BURKE and Mr. SHERIDAN would be a great evil to the country, as well as to their own party, he brought them both together the ſecond night after this altercation in the houſe of commons, and carried them to Burlington Houſe to Mr. Fox and the duke of PORTLAND, according to a previous arrangement. He ſays nothing more of the interview than that it laſted from ten o'clock at night till three in the morning, and afforded a very remarkable diſplay of the extraordinary talents of the parties. While we admire the writer's tenderneſs for the character of an old friend, we are prevented by a ſuperior duty from imitating his delicacy or reſerve. Whatever appearances of a mild or pacific diſpoſition

Mr.

Mr. BURKE may have deceitfully aſſumed in the way to the duke of PORTLAND's, it was evident from the moment he opened his mouth there, that his enmity to Mr. SHERIDAN was implacable, and that ſome ſtronger motive than a pretended alarm at the diffuſion of French doctrines *ſeparated for ever* the HIRELING OF THE MINISTER, and the FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE.

After Mr. BURKE had thus overleaped the bar of honourable reſtraint in public and in private, he no longer thought the two letters to his French correſpondent ſevere enough; and began to write his famous "Reflections on the Revolution in France." All his powers both of mind and body were almoſt inceſſantly employed upon this work from February till November *. He wrote, blotted, re-wrote, printed, cancelled, re-printed it ſo often, that when it appeared at length, it did not contain even one ſheet of the original compoſition. It contained ſtill leſs of valuable or uſeful information. Yet, his "Reflections" have been called *beautiful*. Never ſurely was any work ſo improperly characteriſed. Beautiful! No---no---"Rien n'eſt beau que le vrai"---Nothing is beautiful but *Truth*. That epithet muſt not be applied to a tiſſue of falſhood and ſophiſtry, however decorated with the ſplendors of artificial eloquence. But, "thanks to Mr. BURKE for the diſcuſſion which he provoked." Of his doctrines

* Mr. BURKE's eagerneſs to have it publiſhed on the firſt of November is ſtrongly marked in a letter written about a week before to a friend in town, who was to keep goading the printers to the utmoſt exertion and diſpatch. "For God's ſake," he ſays, "move heaven and earth to get it out at the exact day---Whether well, or ill---with convenience, or not---For otherwiſe, I may as well not print it at all. My reaſons are ſolid." The new parliament was to meet on the 25th, and Mr. BURKE hoped that his book would before that time make ſome impreſſion. It appears from the ſame letter, that he was no leſs urgent with Mr. DUPONT, an emigrant, then at lord RIVERS's, who was engaged in a French tranſlation of the work, for the purpoſe of its being circulated on the continent.

and

and of the moſt diſtinguiſhed refutation of them Mr. ERSKINE gave the following account in his admirable defence of Mr. HORNE TOOKE:

"Mr. BURKE," ſaid this ornament of the bar, of the ſenate, and of human nature, "denied poſitively that France had any right to change her own government; and even took up the cudgels for all the deſpots of Europe, who, at the very time, were levying a barbarous, ſcandalous, and oppreſſive war, to maintain the ſame propoſition by the ſword. This work [Mr. BURKE's Reflections] brought forward again after a long ſilence Mr. THOMAS PAINE, who was indeed a republican beyond all queſtion, but who had become ſo in conſequence of the ſame corrupt and ſcandalous attempt to beat down by force the liberties of a nation: he became a republican in conſequence of the ſimilar and lamentable conteſt between Great Britain and America; and it is rather a curious circumſtance that this very Mr. BURKE, who conſiders Mr. PAINE *as a man not to be reaſoned with, but only to be anſwered by criminal juſtice*, and who condemns as a traitor every man who attempts to name him, expreſſed his approbation of the very ſame doctrines publiſhed by Mr. PAINE, when Mr. BURKE himſelf was pleading the cauſe of a nation determined to be free,---not the cauſe of a foreign nation which had always been independent,---but the cauſe of colonial America, in open war and rebellion againſt the crown and parliament of Great Britain. Mr. PAINE, during the ſame criſis, wrote his book called COMMON SENSE, addreſſed to the Americans in arms againſt England, exciting them to throw off the yoke of the mother country, and to declare themſelves independent. From having defended Mr. PAINE upon his trial for writing his later work, I am, of courſe, intimately acquainted with its contents, and

and with thoſe of his former writings, and I take upon me to ſay that every offenſive topic againſt monarchy, and all the principles of THE RIGHTS OF MAN, now regarded with ſuch horror, are ſubſtantially, and in many inſtances almoſt verbatim, to be found in the former publication. When Mr. PAINE wrote his COMMON SENSE, acts of parliament had declared America to be in a ſtate of rebellion, and England was exerting every nerve to ſubdue her; yet, at that moment, Mr. BURKE, not in his place in parliament, where his words are not to be queſtioned, but in a pamphlet publicly circulated, ſpeaks of this book, COMMON SENSE, by name; notices the powerful effect it had upon the minds of the Americans, in bringing them up to emancipation; and acknowledges, that, if the facts aſſumed by the author were true, his reaſonings were unanſwerable."

Mr. BURKE's admiration of Mr. PAINE and of his writings was ſtill more unequivocally expreſſed upon this gentleman's return to England, when Mr. BURKE received him with all the cordiality of an old and ſincere friend. But, at the time of writing the "Reflections," Mr. BURKE exchanged the bonds of virtuous friendſhip for the golden fetters of the treaſury; and was not aſhamed to recant all the doctrines he had ever before admired, or ever before inculcated. His inconſiſtencies, his ſelf-refutations, would fill a volume. We ſhall confine ourſelves to one or two. How could he declaim againſt the popular convulſions, and the overthrow of the old tyranny in France, who had told the people of England a few years before, "that a fever purged off and purified the blood, gave it a more happy circulation, and renovated or corrected a weak or diſordered conſtitution: that the crown held no public right, or public property but as a truſt *for*, and *under* the people;---that all it poſſeſſed, it enjoyed

as a favor;---that its prerogatives, the higheſt and moſt tranſcendant part of its power, were created and ought of courſe to be exerciſed for the benefit of the people, who had created and conferred them: that every right, which his majeſty enjoyed as ſovereign, was a delegated right, and conſequently ſubject to examination, correction, and controul: that, when the repreſentatives of the people ceaſed to inquire, to regulate, and to correct, they were no longer the ſervants of the public who had ſent them, but the corrupt or ſervile tools of thoſe, who paid and rewarded them for their treachery: that, ſhould a king aboliſh or alter courts of law, trial by jury, or religion, or erect a ſtanding army, then the compact was diſſolved, and all right and power reverted to the people; and the people, by plots, conſpiracies, or any other ſecret or violent means, might hurl ſuch a king from the throne: and that the Revolution was, in fact, a precedent of a delinquent monarch, a precedent to teach this leſſon to kings;

" Diſcite juſtitiam moniti, et non temnere leges."

How could he ſo bitterly inveigh againſt the diſſenters in general, and againſt Dr. PRICE in particular, for preaching in much milder language the ſacred doctrines of civil and religious liberty,---of univerſal peace and philanthropy! How could he exalt the privileged orders, and degrade the reſt of ſociety, whom the nation heard ſolemnly declaring his readineſs to ſacrifice all the nobility in the univerſe, in order to make the people happy! The former were now become the Corinthian pillars in his new ſyſtem of political architecture; and he transformed the latter into a *ſwiniſh multitude.* But, as Mr. Fox well obſerved at the late anniverſary of his election for Weſtminſter, *if the people were regarded as a* SWINISH MULTITUDE, *it could be only*

only because they had SWINISH REPRESENTATIVES. We may purſue the metaphor a little farther, and aſſert with the ſtricteſt truth, that among all their ſwiniſh repreſentatives, the people never had one ſo dangerous and deteſtable as Mr. BURKE: he united the filth and ſelf-debaſement of the wallowing hog with the treachery and ferocity of the mountain boar*.

The rapid and univerſal circulation of Mr. PAINE's "Rights of Man" inflicted a keen wound on Mr. BURKE's pride; but for this he had many palliatives in the miniſter's favor, in the applauſe of the *cabal*, in the proſpect of a penſion, and in the impreſſion which his "Reflections" were ſuppoſed to have made on the confederacy of foreign deſpots. His pamphlet alſo procured him ſome academical honours. The only mark of this ſort of diſtinction, which he had received ſince he left college, was at the time of his holding the office of paymaſter, when the univerſity of Glaſgow choſe him for their Rector. But now ſeveral reſident graduates of Oxford, who were highly pleaſed with his defence of old eſtabliſhments, wiſhed to procure him the honorary degree of doctor of laws. Their intention was made known in the uſual form, and ſubmitted by the vice-chancellor to the *heads of houſes*, the majority of whom refuſing their concurrence, it could not be brought before the univerſity in convocation aſſembled. A letter from the graduates who had made the attempt, expreſſive of their concern at the diſappoint-

* A ludicrous turn is given to Mr. BURKE's idea in the following epigram, which was publiſhed about two or three years ago:

"BURKE, both paſſionate and rude,
"Calls us a *ſwiniſh multitude*,
"Which ſome think defamation;
"But I his meaning thus define—
"That, if the *people* all are *ſwine*,
"*Hog-drivers rule* the *nation*."

ment, was conveyed by Mr. WINDHAM to Mr. BURKE, and was anſwered in his uſual ſtrain of mock modeſty and real arrogance. "Expreſs to thoſe worthy gentlemen," ſays he in one part of this anſwer, "the conſolation and ſupport which I feel from their approbation, at a moment, when, in declining age, ſtrength and faculties, I find myſelf in the laſt effort of the long, long ſtruggle, which, with you, and ſo many other excellent perſons, I have made to ſhake off the moſt dangerous and moſt malignant diſtemper by which the conſtitution of Great Britain was ever attacked; and under which it muſt ſink, if a moſt marked diſtinction is not made between the perſons who ſerve us well or ill in the adminiſtration of our power abroad; or if Eaſtern deſpotiſm, peculation, venality, oppreſſion, inhumanity, and cruelty, can find countenance in this nation, to the diſgrace of a country which glories in *legal* liberty, and to the ſhame of that religion, which, being founded upon a ſuffering under tyranny and injuſtice both from the great and from the people, in a peculiar manner engages all its profeſſors, and all its teachers, to diſcountenance ſuch tempers and practices, and even to wage, under the ſtandard of the captain of our ſalvation, a war without quarter upon all cruelty and oppreſſion, wherever they appear, in whatever ſhape, and in whatever deſcriptions of men." Mr. BURKE, it ſeems, ſaw no difficulty in reconciling the ſpirit of mercileſs war with the ſpirit of a religion founded upon patience; and, in the diſtribution of his figurative commiſſions, could as eaſily appoint JESUS CHRIST the captain general of perſecution, as he had before made Mr. HASTINGS the captain general of iniquity! We do not know whether this circumſtance concurred with his book in recommending him to the members of Trinity College, Dublin, who conferred upon him the degree which Oxford had refuſed, and voted him alſo the freedom of the univerſity

verſity in a gold box; but this vote was afterwards reſcinded on the appearance of his pamphlet in favor of the Roman catholics of Ireland.

In January 1791, Mr. BURKE publiſhed a ſecond declaration on the new order of things in France, under the title of "A Letter to a Member of the National Aſſembly." He ſaw nothing in the ſyſtem of thoſe legiſlators but "a gulf of guilt and public miſery, yawning before them in the abyſs of dark and bottomleſs ſpeculations." But the greateſt crime and the greateſt folly they were guilty of conſiſted in erecting ſtatues to ROUSSEAU, "to a wild, ferocious, low-minded, hard-hearted father, of fine general feelings, a lover of his kind, but a hater of his kindred." Yet this ſame ROUSSEAU is "ſometimes moral in a very ſublime ſtrain." Mr. BURKE takes care immediately to remark, that ſuch writers "make even virtue a pander to vice!" Envy, malignity, the meaneſt paſſions, and the moſt hateful prejudices could never have dictated ſuch language, unleſs they had been alſo tinctured with infanity,---with that dreadful infuſion, of which Mr. BURKE was equally liberal to kings, to ſtateſmen, and to philoſophers.

It was not enough to attempt with an impious, but withered and impotent arm, to pull down the ſacred ſtatue of ROUSSEAU from that pinnacle of immortal glory where it is fixed by the admiration of the world---it was not enough to throw the feeble javelin, *telum imbelle*, at the repreſentatives of a people contending for their rights---Mr. BURKE left no inſidious means untried to make the Britiſh government take an avowed part in defeating the ſucceſs of their grand exertions. With this view he ſubmitted to lord GRENVILLE hints of a memorial to be preſented by lord GOWER, then ambaſſador at Paris, propoſing the interference

interference or mediation of his Britannic majeſty between the French king and his ſubjects, and declaring, at the ſame time, that the ambaſſador was commanded to take his leave, in caſe this propoſal ſhould be rejected. Such a memorial would have brought the matter to an immediate iſſue. But, though the whole *cabal* moſt ardently wiſhed they could ſtrangle the infant HERCULES in his cradle, none of them were as yet wound up to Mr. BURKE's high pitch of reſolution: none of them had courage enough to adviſe ſo precipitate, and ſo unwarrantable a meaſure. They thought it ſafer to keep up a treacherous neutrality ſomewhat longer. They countenanced, therefore, very readily another of his ſchemes, which was to ſend over his ſon to Coblentz, as the ſecret and confidential agent of the Britiſh miniſtry, to ſound the diſpoſitions of the contracting parties who had entered into the abominable engagement at Pilnitz. The intelligence, which Mr. BURKE received through that channel, furniſhed him with ſome materials for a circulating letter, under the title of "Thoughts on the circumſtances of Europe, at the time of making the two Declarations concerning the conſtitution of France to the ſeveral potentates*." Copies of this letter, which was written, but not printed, in December 1791, were ſent not only to the members of adminiſtration, but to the duke of PORTLAND, to lord FITZWILLIAM, and to ſeveral others of the ſame party, whom Mr. BURKE was endeavouring to ſeduce from the path of conſiſtency and rectitude. In this curious production, he attempts to prove, that the declaration of a new ſpecies of government in France gave foreign powers a right to interfere; and that nothing but the

* The firſt declaration notified to foreign powers the change made in the French government; and the ſecond, the king's acceptance of the new conſtitution.

greateſt

greateſt and moſt immediate exertions of wiſdom and vigour could check the diffuſion of the ſpirit of proſelytiſm, or prevent the overthrow of all the old eſtabliſhments, and the erection every where of new commonwealths, having for their baſis "the French rights of man." His ſole object is evidently to ſpread alarm, at the very moment that he diſclaims ſuch an intention, and affects an unwillingneſs "to let looſe any ſpeculations of his on the ſubject. BRISSOT and CONDORCET are treated with as little delicacy in this letter, as ROUSSEAU was in the "Letter to a Member of the National Aſſembly." BRISSOT, according to Mr. BURKE, had been "a ſort of thief-taker, till raiſed by the revolution to fame and eminence;" and CONDORCET, though "a man of another ſort of birth, faſhion and occupation from BRISSOT," is aſſerted to be "in every principle, and in every diſpoſition to the loweſt as well as the higheſt and moſt determined villanies, fully his equal."

From the firſt moment of Mr. BURKE's apoſtacy, whenever he took occaſion to mention any eminent advocate for civil or religious liberty, he ſeemed to foam at the mouth, and, in the tranſports of his rage and malice, to pay no regard to truth, to candour, to conviction, to common decency, or common ſenſe. In the debate, to which Mr. Fox's celebrated repeal of the teſt act gave riſe, on the ſecond of March 1790, Mr. BURKE filled his oldeſt and his beſt friends with grief and ſhame, at hearing his invectives againſt ſuch venerable characters as thoſe of PRICE and PRIESTLEY, and againſt the diſſenters in general, whom he charged with publiſhing *catechiſms of miſanthropy*, *catechiſms of anarchy*, *catechiſms of confuſion*, by which the riſing generation were taught from their infancy to liſp out cenſures on all the eſtabliſhments both in church and ſtate. "Thoſe," he ſaid,

"who

"who had compared the church of Rome to the whore of Babylon, the kirk of Scotland to a kept miſtreſs, and the church of England to ſomething between a proſtitute and a modeſt woman, would probably be preaching up the ſame doctrines to their congregations; and how could he tell but that it would end in acting the ſame ſhameful ſcenes which had taken place in France?"

Whatever the ſubject of debate might be, whether religious or political, Mr. BURKE's ingenuity could always find means of introducing his favourite topic, *the French revolution.* On the re-commitment of the Quebec bill, on the ſixth of May 1791, when the queſtion was "that the clauſes of the bill be read paragraph by paragraph," Mr. BURKE, under a pretence of ſpeaking to its general principle, made the *rights of man* the butt of his ridicule and aſperity. A cargo of thoſe rights, ſent to our colonies, would be far more pernicious, in his opinion, than a bale of infected cotton from Marſeilles. The French iſlands, he ſaid, were flouriſhing and happy, till they heard of the *rights of man.* As ſoon as this ſyſtem arrived among them, PANDORA's box, replete with every mortal evil, ſeemed to fly open, hell itſelf to yawn, and every demon of miſchief to overſpread the country. Blacks roſe againſt whites, whites againſt blacks, and each againſt one another in murderous hoſtility;

"Black ſpirits and white,
"Blue ſpirits and gray,
"Mingle, mingle, mingle."

Mr. BURKE being called to order in the midſt of his excurſive flights from the main queſtion, a very warm altercation enſued between him and Mr. Fox, which ended, like the former diſpute

pute with Mr. SHERIDAN, in Mr. BURKE's ſtern avowal of the diſſolution of their friendſhip. Mr. Fox repelled the malignant inſinuations thrown out againſt him of having maintained republican principles; and repeated his opinion of the French revolution, that it was, on the whole, "one of the moſt glorious events in the hiſtory of mankind." In this aſſertion, however, he ſpoke of the *revolution*, and not of the *conſtitution:* the latter remained to be improved by experience, and accommodated to circumſtances. He ſaid, that, on a proper occaſion, he would undertake to prove, that the *rights of man*, which Mr. BURKE had ridiculed as viſionary, were the baſis of the Britiſh conſtitution, as our ſtatute-book evinced, in recognizing "the original rights of the people as men, which no preſcription could ſuperſede, no accident remove or obliterate." He alſo touched upon ſome of Mr. BURKE's old doctrines and preſent inconſiſtencies with a well-tempered mixture of force and delicacy. His example was not followed by his enraged adverſary, who could not conceal the violent heavings of the ſoul under all the diſguiſe of his theatric art. After one of the loudeſt burſts of his paſſion, he turned round to the chair, and ſaid, "I am not mad, moſt noble FESTUS, but ſpeak the words of truth and ſoberneſs." Had this been really the caſe, he would have had no occaſion to make the apology. In another part of his reply, he obſerved, that he had differed on many occaſions from Mr. Fox, without any loſs of friendſhip between them; but there was ſomething in the *curſed* French conſtitution that envenomed every thing. Here Mr. Fox whiſpered, that there was no loſs of friendſhip. "*There is*," ſaid Mr. BURKE. "I know the price of my conduct---I have done my duty at the price of my friend---*Our friendſhip is at an end.*" It certainly was and had been long before, on the

part of Mr. BURKE, whoſe genius, inſtead of being depreſſed by ſuch a declaration, ſoared aloft in ſearch of ſplendid images to conclude his ſpeech*. When Mr. Fox roſe, exquiſite ſenſibility gliſtened in his eye, but for ſome moments denied his tongue all utterance. At length relieved by the burſting tear, he ſaid, however events might have altered the mind of his right honourable friend, for ſuch he muſt ſtill call him, he could not ſo eaſily conſent to relinquiſh and diſſolve that intimate connexion, which had for twenty five years ſubſiſted between them. He hoped that Mr. BURKE would think on paſt times; and, whatever expreſſions of his had given offence, that he would at leaſt believe ſuch was not his intention. But all theſe conceſſions had no effect. The deaf adder of venality was not to be charmed by the muſic of virtue.

Five days after, in a debate on one of the clauſes of the very ſame bill, Mr. BURKE drew an exact picture of his own guilt and diſgrace, though without any deſign that others ſhould make the application, or be ſtruck with the likeneſs. "He was," he complained, "delivered over to infamy at the end of a long life, juſt like the derviſe in the fable, who, after living till ninety in the ſuppoſed practice of every virtue, was tempted at laſt to the commiſſion of a ſingle error, when the devil ſpit in his face as a reward for all his actions." The miniſter, however, did not treat Mr. BURKE with ſimilar ingratitude: he ſoon conferred upon him ſome far more agreeable and more laſting marks of his employer's favor.

* This was where he conjured the right honourable gentlemen, [Mr. Fox and Mr. PITT] who were the great rivals in that houſe, whether they ſhould move in the political hemiſphere, as two blazing ſtars in oppoſite orbits, or walk together as brethren, to preſerve the Britiſh conſtitution, and guard it againſt innovation.

Mr.

Mr. BURKE felt himſelf very ſore, and *ſtript naked indeed* by the continual expoſure of his inconſiſtencies. In the many late diſcuſſions which his own intemperate zeal had provoked, his new political creed was clearly demonſtrated to be a ſcandalous contradiction of every one of his former tenets, writings, and declarations. Not yet become callous to the poignancy of juſt reproach, he exerted in one deſperate effort all his powers of ſophiſtry and rhetoric, to miſlead the public judgment,---to exculpate himſelf from the charge of apoſtacy,---and to give, if poſſible, to falſhood the faſcinating ſemblance of truth. Such were the objects aimed at in his "Appeal from the *new* to the *old* Whigs." It is a plauſible and impoſing performance; but will not bear a minute examination. The counterfeit is executed with the greateſt ſkill; but the baſeneſs of the metal may be ſoon diſcovered by a judicious aſſay.

Mr. RICHARD BURKE junior, having fulfilled the duties of his commiſſion at Coblentz, returned to England in the autumn of the year 1791, accompanied by Monſieur CAZALÉS, a gentleman diſtinguiſhed for his ariſtocratic violence in the national aſſembly, and who having therefore found it prudent to join the emigrant princes, was now intruſted with the management of their concerns at the Britiſh court. Monſieur CAZALÉS ſtrongly reſembles Mr. Fox in outward appearance; but the likeneſs extends no farther, though the talents of the French gentleman are by no means contemptible. In the late altercation in the houſe of commons, Mr. Fox had ſaid, "that, feeling the preſent temper of Mr. BURKE's mind, he ſhould keep out of his way till time and reflection had fitted him to think differently of the ſubject; and then if their friends did not endeavour to re-unite them, they would not act as he had a right to expect." A common

friend to both, availing himſelf of the arrival of Mr. CAZALÈS in London invited him and Mr. BURKE to dinner; and ſent alſo a preſſing invitation to Mr. Fox to meet them, and to ſee his own likeneſs in a foreigner. But as ſoon as Mr. BURKE heard that Mr. Fox was to be of the party, he refuſed to go, and thus diſappointed the intention of the kind mediator.

So far from being fitted by time and reflection to think differently of the ſubject, Mr. BURKE ſeemed every day more and more determined that the laſt ſentence he could write or utter ſhould be a denunciation of eternal enmity not only to the authors and ſupporters of the French revolution, but to all thoſe who ſpoke favorably of that event. He was very much chagrined to find our miniſtry ſtill ſhrinking from the commencement of hoſtilities---

" Willing to wound, and yet afraid to ſtrike---"

The timid, indeciſive, or pacific temper of LEOPOLD was another painful check on Mr. BURKE's eagerneſs to bring down all the vengeance of deſpotiſm on the aſſertors of liberty. His " Thoughts on the circumſtances of Europe" not having produced all the effect which he deſired, he opened a private correſpondence with a certain baron who had at that time and ſtill retains conſiderable influence in the Imperial cabinet, and whom the French believe to be in the pay of the Britiſh government. LEOPOLD's thoughts were then very much employed on plans for ſecuring tranquillity in the Netherlands, where a dangerous inſurrection had been but lately ſuppreſſed. The emperor had alſo diſcovered ſome unpleaſant ſymptoms of diſquietude in his Hungarian dominions, and wiſhed to apply in time a proper remedy. The war with the Turks having been juſt terminated, the wiſeſt of

of his counſellors diſſuaded him from immediately plunging into a ſtill more dangerous war with the French; and earneſtly urged him to employ the happy interval of peace in conciliating the malcontents of Hungary, and in confirming the allegiance of the inhabitants of the Belgic provinces by a reform of numerous abuſes, particularly thoſe which prevailed among the nobility and the monaſtic orders. To counteract ſuch ſalutary advice was the grand aim of Mr. BURKE's letters to the baron. "Forgive me," he ſays with his uſual art of inſinuation, "if I take the liberty of ſuggeſting to your ſuperior judgment, as well as to that of the emperor's other adviſers, that it is not very eaſy to ſuppreſs what you call *the Monkiſh fury*, without exciting fury of another kind, which will, perhaps, be found more intractable than the other, and may be carried to much greater lengths. In ſuch a dilemma, it would not miſbecome a great ſtateſman ſeriouſly to conſider, which of the two furies is likely to become moſt miſchievous to the government, which he has it in charge to ſupport, and to the country, which it is his duty to preſerve in peace and proſperity." Thus Mr. BURKE glides on as it were imperceptibly to the objects he had in view, which were firſt to fill the emperor with alarm for the ſtability of his own power; then to inſpire him with a jealouſy and contempt of his beſt counſellors; and laſtly to make him tremble at the near neighbourhood of a riſing republic in France. "If princes," ſays he, will in cold blood, and from miſtaken ideas of policy, excite the paſſions of the multitude againſt particular deſcriptions of men, whether they be prieſts or nobility, in order to avail themſelves of the aſſiſtance of that multitude in their enterpriſes againſt thoſe claſſes, let them recollect that they call in the aid of an ally, more dangerous to themſelves than to thoſe whom they are deſirous of oppreſſing. The Netherlands have been but newly recovered

covered to the emperor. He owes that recovery to a concurrence of very extraordinary circumſtances; and he has made great ſacrifices to this object. Is it really his intereſt to have it underſtood, that he means to repeat the very proceedings which have excited all the late troubles in his territories? Can it be true, that he means to draw up the very ſame floodgates, which have let looſe the deluge that has overwhelmed the great monarchy in his neighbourhood? Does he think, if he means to encourage the ſpirit which prevails in France, that it will be exerted in *his* favor, or to anſwer *his* purpoſes? Whilſt he is deſtroying prejudices, which, under good management, may become the ſureſt ſupport of his government, is he not afraid that the diſcuſſion may go farther than he wiſhes? If he excites men to inquire too ſcrupulouſly into the foundation of all old opinions, may he not have reaſon to apprehend, that ſeveral will ſee as little uſe in *monarchs* as in *monks?*" Did TOM PAINE ever write any thing more pointed than this? Mr. BURKE here expoſes the grand ſecret for perpetuating civil and religious tyranny. Extinguiſh all ſpirit of inquiry: make the moſt ſtupid prejudices the ſupport of your government: keep the people in the moſt profound ignorance and darkneſs: ſhould a ray of light break in, all your ſhadowy monſters vaniſh in an inſtant.

When he comes to take notice of thoſe who had recommended plans of reform to the emperor, and whom he would have conſidered as *ſeducers*, he ſays, "they would certainly adviſe their ſovereign to nouriſh a democratic party, in order to curb the ariſtocratic and the clerical. But," adds Mr. BURKE "the ſupport of the permanent orders will be his *only* ſecurity for governing in his own perſon, or for leaving any ſure ſucceſſion to his poſterity. Let him adhere to theſe ſound principles of ſound policy, and he need not care a farthing what the CONDORCETS

and

and the RAYNALS, and the whole flight of the magpyes and jays of philoſophy may fancy or chatter concerning his conduct or his character." Ah! Mr. BURKE, *Riſu inepto res ineptior nulla eſt.* Nothing is more ſilly,---nothing expoſes a man more, than impertinent, miſapplied ridicule. Surely the canker-worm of envy muſt have gnawed with keen corroſion to betray a man of genius into ſuch illiberal witticiſms.

As to the danger of a republican vicinity, Mr. BURKE tells his correſpondent, "that the democratic faction in the Netherlands would have always an armed ally more conveniently ſituated to aſſiſt *them*, than the emperor was conveniently ſituated to aſſiſt himſelf. Can we think," ſays he, "that a republic founded on the revolt of armies, on the ſeparation of ſoldiers from their officers, and on the degradation (a thing much worſe than the total extinction) of monarchy, can poſſibly exiſt in the very center of Europe, without producing an effect upon every nation which it touches; and ſubſtantially it touches them all? Every diſcontent, civil and military, in Europe, will have a ſure ally. Let that chaotic maſs obtain any form, however unſightly and unſhapely, and any conſiſtency in any of its conſiderable parts, *though but for a time*, I will ſtake my life (if it ſhould continue to that period) for the effect upon other nations."

Unhappily thoſe letters had too perſuaſive an influence on the vibrating mind of LEOPOLD, and induced him to ſuſpend reform at home, and to reſolve upon a cruſade abroad, the moſt unjuſt, the moſt frantic, the moſt ſanguinary, and the moſt ruinous, that tyranny ever waged, or freedom ever ſuſtained. Though he did not live to begin the enterpriſe, he left the fatal inheritance of his plan to a young and leſs cautious ſucceſſor; and the campaign of 1792 was the immediate conſequence; ſo that Mr. BURKE,

BURKE, to uſe his own metaphor, may be truly ſaid to have drawn up the floodgates, which let looſe the deluge that has ſince continued to inundate ſo many countries with blood. One of the firſt effects of the duke of BRUNSWICK's march and manifeſto was the convulſion of the tenth of Auguſt, which changed the limited monarchy of France into a republic, and ſoon after brought the fallen monarch and part of his family to the ſcaffold. In the latter end of the ſame month, Mr. BURKE wrote a letter to lord GRENVILLE, to enforce, by a variety of arguments drawn from the wild miſrule which then prevailed at Paris, and from the poſture of the invading armies, the neceſſity of Great Britain's direct co-operation with the latter. The Britiſh miniſtry ſeemed ſtill afraid; or, perhaps, they thought any riſk on their part unneceſſary, and concurred in the general opinion of all thoſe who hated and deſpiſed the French, "that the duke of BRUNSWICK would make his way to Paris over the bellies of the rabble of *drunkards*, *robbers*, *aſſaſſins*, *rioters*, *mutineers*, and *half-grown boys*, under the ill-obeyed command of a *theatrical*, *vapouring*, *reduced captain of cavalry*, who oppoſed that great commander, and great army. But---*Diis aliter viſum*"---Providence and the wiſhes of all good men were againſt him. The events of this campaign, the ignominious retreat of the duke of BRUNSWICK, the heroic reſiſtance of the little fortreſs of Thionville, the unparalleled intrepidity of the citizens of Liſle, the glorious battle of Gemappe, the inroad of the French into the Netherlands, in ſhort, the rapidity of their victorious career in every direction, ought to have taught tyrants and their ſlaves the impoſſibility of ſubduing a nation determined to be free. On the firſt reverſe of fortune, which the Auſtrians experienced, Mr. BURKE began to write another

another of his alarming eſſays, entitled "Heads for conſideration on the preſent ſtate of Affairs;" in which he aimed at eſtabliſhing this opinion, "that there never was, nor is, nor ever will be, or even can be, the leaſt rational hope of making an impreſſion on France by any continental powers, if England is not a part, is not the directing part, is not the ſoul, of the whole confederacy againſt it." This eſſay was finiſhed on the fifth of November, and its ſpirit well correſponded with the day; for it was to lay a train of gunpowder to blow up the new republic. But on that very day alſo, the battle of Gemappe was fought, and the exploſion there ſhook every tyrant's throne in Europe. The French marched on to Bruſſels; every town in the Netherlands, except Luxemburgh, was ſoon reduced; the navigation of the Scheldt was to be opened; Holland was menaced; and our miniſtry, thus furniſhed with a variety of pretexts for going to war, did not want any of BURKE's farther perſuaſives.

By inceſſantly writing and ſpeaking againſt the French revolution, Mr. BURKE had at length worked himſelf into a ſort of enthuſiaſtic, or inſane antipathy to whatever had even a ſhadow of freedom, or tended in the ſmalleſt degree to meliorate the condition of what he called the lower orders of the populace. This is evident from a variety of circumſtances in his private life and public conduct at that period. Before, he had always been accuſtomed to treat his ſervants with mildneſs; but now, an old and ſteady coachman, for daring even to mutter ſomething like a difference of opinion on the *good plight* of the horſes, very narrowly eſcaped having his brains beat out in his maſter's park. *Harveſt home*, which for three and twenty years had been celebrated at his country ſeat with all the profuſion of Iriſh hoſpitality, and in which he himſelf, his family, and friends, uſed to

mix, with the moſt captivating condeſcenſion, was immediately diſcontinued as a check upon every dangerous idea of *equality*. In conſequence of the advanced price of proviſions and of every other neceſſary, ſome of his neighbours, and particularly Mrs. DUPREE, were inclined to advance the wages of labourers: but Mr. BURKE ſet his face againſt the humane propoſal, which, he ſaid, was calculated only to encourage *lazineſs* and *inſolence*. Even the poor negroes in the Weſt Indies loſt at once every claim to his commiſeration. He took, indeed, no open ſhare in the debates on the ſlave trade in April 1792; but he it was, who, in a letter to Mr. DUNDAS, ſuggeſted the deluſive propoſal of a gradual abolition, which was, in fact, a regular plan for continuing and authoriſing that deteſtable traffic. He became the "*who wants me*" even to DUNDAS, and aſtoniſhed the ſecretary of ſtate by the ingenuity of the accommodation. But there was ſomething more flagrant, if poſſible, in his ſentiments and behaviour with reſpect to the Poles. Though tremblingly alive to the ſufferings of the king of France, once the object of his cenſure and contempt, he now could ſee with unconcern a whole people, and their prince, for whom he had lately expreſſed the utmoſt veneration and friendſhip*, become the victims of the moſt unprovoked and unprincipled invaſion. Since the diſmemberment of Poland in 1773, that unhappy country had remained in a ſtate of the moſt humiliating vaſſalage under Ruſſia till May 1791, when a revolution in favor of liberty and national happineſs was effected, without bloodſhed, and without tumult, by the unanimous concurrence of both prince and people. But they had

* It was but a ſhort time before that the king of Poland ſent his own likeneſs in a gold medal to Mr. BURKE, as a mark of his eſteem; for which the orator did not fail to make, in a very elegant letter, the moſt grateful and moſt reſpectful acknowledgments.

ſcarcely

ſcarcely enjoyed the bleſſings of their new conſtitution for one year, before the immenſe force of the Ruſſian empire was directed againſt them. The Poles made a ſpirited and glorious, but unſucceſsful reſiſtance. While neighbouring deſpots beheld with joy the inequality of the conteſt and its certain iſſue, it excited in the breaſts of Engliſhmen the moſt generous ſympathy. A ſubſcription was opened; and ſome of the firſt characters in the kingdom went about to ſolicit contributions. Among other places, they called at Mr. BURKE's, ſaw his ſon, and expreſſed their confidence that his father would ſubſcribe to ſupport the cauſe of humanity and liberty. This produced a long epiſtle from the father, addreſſed to the ſon, and circulated among their new friends. It is exactly in the ſtile of every thing he wrote ſince his apoſtacy---a plauſible attempt to palliate the inconſiſtency of a man, who had once inveighed with great vehemence againſt the Britiſh miniſtry "for their blindneſs and infatuation in ſeeing Poland diſmembered with torpid indifference;" but who, now, when that country was making its laſt deſperate effort to eſcape the graſp of an Imperial monſter, pretended that he could find it "*only in the moon.*"

The ſame diſordered fancy, which had ſtruck France out of the map of Europe, and ſaw Poland in the lunar regions, could with equal eaſe and equal truth diſcover conſpiracies and inſurrections at home in the midſt of the moſt profound calm. But the continuance of that calm would have been fatal to the deſigns of the miniſtry, and to the wiſhes of Mr. BURKE. In conformity to his advice, therefore, the *tocſin* was ſounded;---ſlaves and cowards ran from all quarters to aſſociate againſt the terrific phantoms of republicans and levellers;---allurements and menaces were alternately held out to others, to make them rally round

the Quixotic ſtandard;---even the poor ſhepherd on Saliſbury Plain and his dog were preſſed into the ſervice, for fear of loſing his licence to ſell a pint of ale to a thirſty traveller. The farce ſoon aſſumed a tragic form. The militia was called out and embodied;---parliament was convened in an extraordinary manner before the term of its prorogation;---troops were ordered to march towards the metropolis from all parts of the kingdom;---the duke of RICHMOND threw himſelf into the Tower, as if to emulate DE LAUNAY's glory at the deſtruction of the Baſtille;---the lord mayor of London muſtered all the city forces, civil and military, for the tremendous purpoſe of diſperſing a *ſpouting club*;---and the hero of Bow-ſtreet began to poliſh his ruſty long ſword, which had not quitted the ſcabbard ſince his promotion from the rank of thief-taker to that of magiſtrate. In ſhort, no ſcheme, however wicked, ridiculous, or diſgraceful, was left untried, to drown the voice of reaſon in the tumult of ſenſeleſs alarm;---to divert the attention of the public for a while, and afterwards lead them more eaſily into a war;---and to afford the baſe deſerters of old friends and old principles at leaſt ſome flimſy pretence for joining in the ſupport of thoſe miniſters, whoſe meaſures, to uſe Mr. WINDHAM's own words, they had "*uniformly* and *conſcientiouſly* reprobated."

At the meeting of parliament in December 1792, the oppoſition uſed every means which the moſt enlightened patriotiſm could ſuggeſt, or the greateſt powers of wit, judgment, and genius could recommend, to avert a war with France;---but without effect. Even in the ſecond day's diſcuſſion, Mr. BURKE went ſo far as to ſay, "that the war was not a meaſure in debate, but *decided*; for we were *actually at war with France already*." He now enjoyed the full confidence of the miniſters, having brought

brought over, or ſecretly engaged all thoſe of his late party who were to be frightened by imaginary dangers, allured by penſions and places, or dazzled by the glittering of titles and promotions. But, if we may believe himſelf, all his zeal to perſuade, ſeduce, and bribe others, proceeded from the *pureſt* and moſt *diſintereſted* motives---as pure, no doubt, as lord LOUGHBOROUGH's motives for ſeating himſelf on the *wool-ſack*, or Mr. WINDHAM's for looking forward to the *war-office**, or of any other of the numerous proſelytes to the new anti-gallican doctrine, among whom the favors of adminiſtration were afterwards ſo profuſely diſtributed. It is true, Mr. BURKE had not then actually begun to receive any of his penſions of 3,700l. a year; but his firſt penſion on the civil liſt of 1,200l. a year for his own life and that of his wife, though the warrant is dated September the twenty fourth 1795, was made to commence January the fifth 1793; and the other two penſions of 2,500l. a year for three lives, payable out of the four and a half per cent. fund, were to commence July the twenty fourth 1793, though the patents, for very obvious reaſons, are dated October the twenty fourth 1795. The two laſt penſions he ſold for 27,000l. Yet this is the incorruptible patriot, who declared "his devotion to the public ſervice, not *expecting* or *admitting* any reward whatſoever!"

* We have already illuſtrated the purity of lord LOUGHBOROUGH's motives; and we find in a ſpeech of Mr. SHERIDAN's the beſt comment on the conſiſtency of Mr. WINDHAM. "I cannot forget," ſaid Mr. SHERIDAN, "the triumph which the hon. gentleman uſed to feel in expoſing the unconſtitutional principles upon which the chancellor of the exchequer came into office;—in uncaſing his artifices, his ſubterfuges, and high prerogative principles;—in repreſenting him as an object of diſtruſt and jealouſy, and holding him up to the contempt and deriſion of his country, by ſtripping him of his aſſumed robe of purity, and ſhewing that all beneath was filthy dowlas. Yet, in that *filthy dowla* he has ſuddenly diſcovered ſomething extremely ſplendid and encouraging; for, although the *honourable gentleman* has *changed*, the *miniſter* has *not*."

It

It would be an endleſs taſk to give even a ſketch of Mr. BURKE's harangues on every miniſterial preſervative againſt what he called *the French infection.* But we cannot paſs over unnoticed the memorable ſcene, where he exhibited a dagger, for the purpoſe of heightening the effect of an oratorical attitude in the delivery of his ſublime ſpeeches. This happened at the ſecond reading of the alien bill, " which," he ſaid, " was intended to drive out of this country murderers and aſſaſſins. 3,000 daggers had been beſpoken at Birmingham by an Engliſhman, of which 72 had been delivered. It was not aſcertained how many of theſe were to be exported, and how many were intended for *home conſumption.* " *This,*" added he, drawing a dagger from under his coat, and throwing it on the floor with much theatrical vehemence, " *this* is what you are to gain by an alliance with France. Wherever their principles are introduced, their practice muſt alſo follow." Every ſpectator, as well as Mr. SHERIDAN, muſt have been aſtoniſhed at ſeeing " a man of Mr. BURKE's fine taſte deſcend to ſuch pantomimic tricks and contemptible juggling."

In a ſubſequent debate [March fourth, 1793] on Mr. SHERIDAN's motion for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the truth of the reports of ſedition in this country, Mr. BURKE read a long letter from a manufacturer at Birmingham, charging Dr. MAXWELL with having given an order for making daggers; to which Mr. BURKE added, that the only error he had committed in mentioning the buſineſs before was in ſtating, that 3,000 had been ordered, and 72 made; whereas in fact, 10,000 were ordered, and 4,000 made. Dr. MAXWELL called at his houſe next day, to remonſtrate with him on the cruelty of giving a ſort of ſanction to ſo malicious a falſhood. The doctor, being

being introduced, was going mildly to explain the injuſtice done him, when Mr. BURKE, in tones of tragic terror, exclaimed, "get out of my houſe---get out of houſe"---and inſtantly ordered the ſervant to turn the doctor out, who, he aſſerted, was come to aſſaſſinate him. The doctor had certainly much greater cauſe to be in dread of aſſaſſination from his outrageous accuſer.

The war on the continent now began to take a turn more favorable to Mr. BURKE's deſires. He had gained a great point in lord GRENVILLE's contemptuous rejection of every pacific overture made by the French government; but a greater ſtill in the boundleſs profuſion of Britiſh treaſure, to revive the drooping hopes of the allies,---to bind the confederacy in cloſer compact,---to bribe French generals abroad,---and to ſupport French rebels at home. This was not all. The flower of the Britiſh army had been draughted off, under the command of the duke of YORK, to give a death blow to the hopes of the republicans. Their ſituation, indeed, was very critical after the retreat and defection of DUMOURIER. The whole army of the north was nearly diſſolved, through his treachery; while that of the invaders, proud in number, union, and diſcipline, was ruſhing on, without any apparent obſtacle to check the rapidity of its progreſs. The *iron frontier* ſeemed to give way to the impetuoſity of repeated ſhocks. Condé fell. Valenciennes ſurrendered to the duke of YORK, who took poſſeſſion of it *in behalf of the emperor of Germany*. As ſoon as the intelligence of this event was brought to Mr. DUNDAS's office, he ſent off an expreſs to Mr BURKE, in the ſame manner as to the members of the cabinet; which ſhewed the ſtreſs laid by the miniſter on his gratification, as well as on his advice. When the ſecretary

of

of ſtate's meſſenger got to Beaconsfield, Mr. BURKE was attending the performance of a ſtrolling company in a barn, where, on receiving the diſpatches, he ſuſpended the play,---read them aloud to the audience,---commented on every paſſage,---paid the higheſt compliment to the valour of the duke of YORK and of his troops,---pointed out the vaſt importance of ſuch a conqueſt which opened an inroad into France,---and concluded with making the band, conſiſting of two old fidlers, ſcrape out *God ſave the King*, and with giving a guinea to the players, to drink the duke of YORK's health, ſucceſs to the Britiſh arms, and confuſion to the *Sans culottes*.

Three days before the taking of Valenciennes, the Pruſſian arms proved equally ſucceſsful at Mentz; and while the ſtorm from without was thus burſting upon the French republic in different directions, the furnace of diſcord was heated in its very center, and the mines of treachery were ſprung in its beſt provinces, as if at once to overwhelm it in ruin by the joint operation of ſo many tremendous exploſions. But the enthuſiaſm of a great majority of the people in the cauſe of liberty enabled them to ſurmount every difficulty and danger. Their eyes were now opened to the weakneſs and the crimes of that race of tyrants, under whom the nation had groaned for a ſucceſſion of ages; and they were ready to face certain death rather than acquieſce in the return of the expelled monſters. Many even of thoſe who would have been ſatisfied with a limited monarchy, took juſt alarm at the conduct of the belligerent powers. It was their fatal ſcheme of conqueſt which impelled all parties, however oppoſite in other reſpects, to unite in their country's ſalvation and advance to the thunder of the charge with unparalleled intrepidity. That fatal ſcheme of conqueſt may be ſaid to have operated, as it were, with

with electrical force, melting down five and twenty millions of individuals into one general maſs of valour which never can be cruſhed by any effort of external violence. That fatal ſcheme of conqueſt, accompanied with the unmaſked villany of DUMOURIER, and many other proofs of the agency of Engliſh gold, attached the French armies to the convention, and decided the ſtruggle there between the contending factions. The *Mountain* prevailed: its chief opponents bled upon the ſcaffold: the tyranny of ROBESPIERRE followed; and, in the midſt of all its horrors, France became a ſchool for military wonder. BRISSOT's Addreſs to his Conſtituents, on the ſtate of affairs before the revolution of the thirty firſt of May, was tranſlated into Engliſh by Mr. WILLIAM BURKE, but in a ſtile which did little credit to an author who had ſo great a ſhare in writing the "Hiſtory of the European Colonies in America." The preface is the compoſition of his friend and old literary aſſociate, Mr. EDMUND BURKE. It is artful and maſterly; but being prefixed to ſo ſpiritleſs a tranſlation, it appears like a magnificent portico raiſed before a diſfigured edifice.

The triumph of the combined powers terminated with the autumn; and it then appeared that they had been all this while purſuing the falſe meteor of imaginary conqueſt. The ſurpriſe and total rout of general FREYTAG's army, the precipitate flight of the duke of YORK from before Dunkirk, JOURDAN's deciſive victory over the whole force of the allies collected at Maubeuge under the prince of COBOURG, expoſed to the world the folly, the frenzy of their projects. The inſurgents in La Vendée, after ſeveral obſtinate and bloody conflicts, were completely diſperſed. The confederacy of the principal cities of the ſouth for the avowed purpoſe of diſſolving the convention was itſelf diſſolved, and a terrible vengeance in-

 flicted

flicted on the federates. Toulon, which lord HOOD had obtained in Auguſt by an alluring promiſe of aſſiſtance and ſupport to the people of Provence, and by a poſitive ſtipulation to concur in reſtoring the conſtitution of 1789, was evacuated in December with ſuch circumſtances of perfidy, trepidation, and diſgrace, as blaſted for ever all his lordſhip's former laurels. When the engagements entered into with the people of Toulon at the time of taking poſſeſſion of the town and fleet were made known in England, Mr. BURKE went to lord GRENVILLE's office in a violent rage; and though the ſecretary of ſtate was not there, he attacked the under ſecretary, and condemned in the moſt unqualified terms the inconſiſtency of the miniſters in authoriſing any Britiſh commander to promiſe his concurrence in reſtoring the conſtitution of 1789, "the prolific mother of ſuch monſters as had never iſſued from the womb of hell." He was alſo very averſe to a Declaration of the motives, objects, and end of the war, which was ſent on the twentieth of October in his majeſty's name to the commanders of his fleets and armies, and to his miniſters at foreign courts. Mr. BURKE, not ſatisfied with pointing out to lord GRENVILLE in private converſation the unſeaſonableneſs of iſſuing a manifeſto in a moment of calamity and defeat, and the inconſiſtency which would be diſcovered between the profeſſions of the allies and their conduct, began in October to write an eſſay on the ſubject. But the miniſtry were not to be diverted from, or even induced to delay, the propoſed meaſure. Mr. BURKE, however, went on with, and finiſhed his Eſſay, which he now endeavoured to make ſubſervient to another purpoſe, the cauſe of the emigrants and of the royaliſts in La Vendée. The fate of the former at Quiberon, and the greater part of two provinces ſtained with the blood

blood of the latter, were ſome of the bleſſings that flowed from Mr. BURKE's advice, and from his "Remarks on the Policy of the Allies with reſpect to France."

Though the miniſtry were ſo obſtinate on the ſubject of the Declaration, they paid the utmoſt reſpect to Mr. BURKE's ſuggeſtions on many other points. They had found him of the greateſt ſervice in promoting all their ſchemes of internal alarm, deluſion, and venality. The number of proſelytes he made in both houſes afforded the ſtrongeſt proofs of his indefatigable and ſucceſsful exertions. In a letter to his ſon, who, after his return from Coblentz, was employed as agent for the Roman catholics of Ireland, and who went to that country in the beginning of the year 1793, the father thus deſcribes his own exertions. "I am now in town, trying to take my little part in meaſures which may quiet the unhappy diviſions of the country, and enable us to make head againſt the common enemy of the human race. To do any good, there ought to be a general ceſſation, as much as may be, of all public and all private animoſities; and firſt, the royal family ought in my firm opinion, in this queſtion of the very exiſtence of monarchy, as a baſis, to be reconciled within itſelf: the next is, that the oppoſition ſhould be reconciled to the miniſtry; and that, for that purpoſe, its diſſonant parts ſhould be brought to ſome agreement, if poſſible---if not, that the well-intentioned ſhould be ſeparated from the contagion and diſtraction attendant upon an apparent connexion with thoſe, who, under the falſe colour of a common party, are as completely ſeparated in views and in opinions as the moſt adverſe and factious ever have been or can be: the laſt part of the plan is, that there ſhould be a reconciliation

between the catholics and proteſtants of Ireland*." In this confidential letter, we ſee with what ingenious ſophiſtry of the paſſions Mr. BURKE endeavours to conceal even from himſelf the baſeneſs of his conduct. In the ſoftening language of ſelf-flattery, he calls his having perſuaded the prince of WALES and his brothers to deſert their long-tried friends, and to join a miniſtry who had attempted to rob them even of the rights of nature, *a reconciliation of the royal family within itſelf.* By the like abuſe of words, his ſcattering the ſeeds of mutual fear, ſuſpicion, and enmity from one end of Great Britain to the other, is conſidered as *quieting unhappy diviſions.* But the climax of illuſion is diſplayed in the impoſing colours, with which he paints the moſt perfidious, the moſt profligate deſertion of party that ever was recorded in the annals of corruption. He looked upon his work as only half done, when he had prevailed on the duke PORTLAND, earl FITZWILLIAM, and many of their friends, to vote for government, unleſs he could bring them to an open rupture with Mr. Fox. This was a matter of ſome difficulty. All had not the ſame "matchleſs intrepidity of face" as lord LOUGHBOROUGH, ſir GILBERT ELLIOT, and Mr.

* For this curious extract we are indebted to Mr. E. P. BURKE; and ſhould have chearfully availed ourſelves of his other very obliging communications, had they been received in time. The outlines of the "*Courſe of Lectures on Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce,*" (which were ſketched by his illuſtrious friend in the year 1785, with a deſign of their being finiſhed and publicly delivered by Mr. E. P. BURKE at Merchant-Taylors' Hall, Briſtol) would have added no ſmall degree of utility and elegance to theſe Memoirs. But our narrative had been brought down to the year 1790, and printed before they came to hand. They diſplay the full vigour of Mr. BURKE's intellectual powers: they exhibit a grand map of commercial and political hiſtory; and we ſee, at every glance, an amazing fund of the moſt uſeful knowledge illuminated by the brighteſt ſplendors of genius.

WINDHAM.

WINDHAM. A few of them were willing to keep up a little ſhew of delicacy; and Mr. BURKE ſaw that their remaining ſenſe of ſhame could only be counteracted by the ſtronger ſenſe of fear. Every art of private defamation and public obloquy was therefore employed to blacken Mr. Fox's character, and to make any connection with him appear extremely dangerous. He himſelf was repreſented as the ringleader of anarchiſts, and his Letter to his conſtituents as the firebrand of ſedition. The attacks were ſo violent, and the malignity of the intention ſo obvious, that an extraordinary meeting of the Whig Club was convened at the Crown and Anchor on the twentieth of February 1793, when it was reſolved unanimouſly, "That this club think it their duty, at this extraordinary juncture, to aſſure the right honourable CHALES JAMES FOX, that all the arts of miſrepreſentation which have been ſo induſtriouſly uſed of late for the purpoſe of calumniating him, have had no other effect upon them, than that of confirming, ſtrengthening, and increaſing their attachment to him. A teſtimony ſo honourable to Mr. Fox, and carrying with it ſo pointed a refutation of Mr. BURKE's calumnies, muſt have pierced his very ſoul. He called together ſir GILBERT ELLIOT, Dr. LAURENCE, and a few more of the ſame deſcription, who were either the partners of his apoſtacy, or the ſycophants of his table. They formed themſelves into a ſort of committee at the St. Alban's Tavern; and after three days deliberation and hard labour, ſo weak are the efforts of fallacy when oppoſed to truth, honour, and juſtice, a letter was prepared to be ſent to the Whig Club at its next regular meeting on the fifth of March. Mr. BURKE wrote the letter, with the aid of one or two hints from ſir GILBERT. As to poor LAURENCE and the reſt of the committee, they were incapable

capable of ſuggeſting a ſingle idea. The letter was ſent, deſiring that the names of thoſe who ſigned it might be withdrawn from the Club liſt, on account of the above reſolution; and the following reply was made to the bearer by Mr. HALL, the ſecretary to the Whig Club. "The Club ſee very clearly the tendency of the letter, and the wiſh of the ſeceders to induce the duke of PORTLAND to follow their example: but the Club have good authority for aſſerting, *that the duke of* PORTLAND *never will ſecede, and never will join any public or political party, but in company with* Mr. Fox." They certainly had good authority at that time for ſaying ſo; but his grace did not long ſupport the truth of the declaration. It was alſo unanimouſly reſolved by the Club, to confirm and re-publiſh in all the papers their former reſolution in favour of Mr. Fox. Mr. BURKE, thus completely foiled in every open attack, had no reſource but in the ſtilletto of treachery; and whoever has read his "Letter to the Duke of PORTLAND on the conduct of the Minority," muſt acknowledge that the poiſoned dagger has never been employed for baſer purpoſes than thoſe to which the pen of the writer was directed upon that occaſion. Under the dark covering of private correſpondence, he brought no leſs than fifty four charges againſt Mr. Fox, ſome of a treaſonable, others of a ſeditious nature, without any fear or poſſibility of reply; and infuſed the moſt deadly ſuſpicions, prejudices, and alarms, into the minds of the duke of PORTLAND, earl FITZWILLIAM, and the king himſelf, through the medium of one of his majeſty's miniſters. If the duke really furniſhed the copy from which that Letter was printed during Mr. BURKE's lifetime, we ſhall never conſider his grace as a "*monſtrum nullâ virtute redemptum a vitiis.*" He has done at leaſt one act of public juſtice; for that letter

ſerved

ſerved as the torch of infamy to light its aſſaſſin-like author to the grave.

The enſuing ſeſſion of parliament was the laſt which Mr. BURKE attended. He had many ſtrong reaſons for retiring,---his age,---his bad ſtate of health,---the deſire of ſeeing his ſon rival young JENKINSON on the theatre of the nation,---and, above all, the continual torture to which he was put by the irreſiſtible poignancy of Mr. SHERIDAN's wit, and by thoſe flaſhes of indignant genius with which that gentleman never ceaſed to expoſe the baſeneſs of the apoſtate. In the debate on the Volunteer bill, Mr. BURKE, with his uſual eccentricity, obſerved, that long ſpeeches, without good materials, were dangerous; and that he was deſirous to profit by the advice--

> " Solid men of Boſton, baniſh ſtrong potations:
> " Solid men of Boſton, make no long orations."

Mr. SHERIDAN replied, " that he conceived the injunction againſt long orations was not the only moral precept in the ſyſtem of ethics alluded to, which ſerved to regulate the right honourable gentleman. He would remind him of another paſſage in the ſame approved author:

> " Now it hapt, to the country he went for a bleſſing;
> " And from his ſtate daddy to get a new leſſon:
> " He went to *Daddy* JENKY, by *Trimmer* HAL attended:
> " In ſuch company, good lack! how his morals muſt be mended!"

Stings of this ſort goaded Mr. BURKE out of the houſe of commons, as he himſelf publicly confeſſed in an unguarded moment of extreme irritation. While he ſtaid, however, he did not ceaſe to ſupport all the meaſures propoſed by the miniſter, many

many of which he himſelf had previouſly recommended, and, in particular, the ſcheme for raiſing corps of French emigrants. The public aſcribed to Mr. WINDHAM the fatality of that ſtrange reſource, and all the horrors of its ultimate iſſue at Quiberon. We do not wiſh to ſtrip the ſecretary at war of any of his official honours: we are willing to allow him every one of thoſe metaphiſical qualities both of the heart and the head, which Mr. BURKE has ſo minutely deſcribed in the "Letter to a noble Lord:" but Mr. WINDHAM's invention not being ſo fertile as Mr. BURKE's, he was certainly indebted to the latter for ſuggeſting ſome of his moſt ſanguinary expedients.

It was not merely foreign blood, of which Mr. BURKE was diſpoſed to be laviſh: he wiſhed to ſee the ſword of juſtice *ſtained* with the execution of ſuch Britiſh ſubjects as dared to adopt Mr. PITT's former notions of a parliamentary reform. Thoſe doctrines were now regarded as unqueſtionable proofs of a deſign to dethrone the king and ſubvert the conſtitution. The *habeas corpus* act was ſuſpended: innocent men were dragged to priſon: ſpies were marſhalled, and blood-thirſty proſecutions ſet on foot, with ſuch open contempt both of decency and humanity, as would have diſgraced even the old deſpotiſm of France. When the preparatory ſteps to all theſe meaſures were diſcuſſed in the houſe of commons, Mr. BURKE ſtood forward their moſt zealous ſupporter.

But the ſhameleſs profligacy of this ſelf-degraded old man was never, perhaps, more conſpicuous than in his oppoſition to Mr. HARRISON's motion reſpecting places and penſions. Mr. BURKE treated the motion as a jeſt; and conſidered the propoſal to make ſinecures an object of reſource as a flagrant invaſion of the rights of individuals,---rights, which were as ſacred as any landed property.

perty. Similar meaſures, he ſaid, had occaſioned the ruin of France. If the poor were only to be relieved out of ſuch retrenchments, *then let them ſubmit to the will of God.*" Yet, a few years before, Mr. BURKE could regard it as a duty of the moſt ſerious importance, to ſcrutinize the perquiſites of *the king's turn-ſpit*,---to dive into the *ſmall-beer cellar*,---to ſearch the *buttery*, the *pantry*, and *all the rabble of low places*,---to leave no hole or corner about St. James's unexplored,---and even to count the knocks, or *tackings* of a journeyman carpenter's hammer, in order to deſtroy *Jobs*, and ſwell the amount of *æconomical ſavings:* but, now, *the ſole relief of poverty and diſtreſs muſt be from heaven*, rather than touch one farthing of the marquis of BUCKINGHAM's 8,000l. a year, as teller of the exchequer, or of lord GRENVILLE's 4,000l. a year, as ranger of the Park, or of the other almoſt numberleſs thouſands profuſely ſquandered in ſinecures, and too often for worſe purpoſes than doing nothing. In anſwer to a ſarcaſm, made in the courſe of the debate, on the means by which the miniſter had come into power, Mr. BURKE ſaid, "it had nothing to do with the ſubject." So eaſily could he forget all his own harangues on *back ſtairs* influence, and all the ſtigmas with which, upon every occaſion, he had been accuſtomed to brand Mr. PITT's re-eſtabliſhment in office! With ſuch inconſiſtencies, with ſuch perverſions of his great talents did the orator terminate his parliamentary career!

The truly patriotic motives, by which the duke of PORTLAND and his friends had been actuated in their late ſupport of the miniſter, were put beyond all doubt at the end of the ſeſſion in July 1794. His grace accepted a blue ribband, and the office of *third* ſecretary of ſtate, for the abolition of which he had ſo ſtrenuouſly contended in the year 1780: Mr. WINDHAM got the fond object of his wiſhes, the war office: earl SPENCER was

preſented with the privy ſeal, which he exchanged before the end of the year for lord CHATHAM's ſeat at the head of the admiralty; and earl FITZWILLIAM was declared preſident of the council. But as by this arrangement Mr. PITT became liable to be left in a minority in the cabinet, earl FITZWILLIAM was removed in December following to the vice-royalty of Ireland. After having ſerved there for ſome time as the *cat's-paw* of his new maſters, he was recalled without ceremony, and conſigned to that ſtate of obſcurity, or rather of political inſignificance, from which it is almoſt impoſſible that any change of times or circumſtances ſhould ever enable him to emerge. His Letters to Lord CARLISLE on the ſubject of his diſgrace, are a very good ſupplement to Mr. BURKE's former hiſtory of the *cabal*; and ſhew that ſome improvements have been made in the old ſyſtem of *Butean* intrigue. Such are the rewards that finally await all the other followers of Mr. BURKE in that *pure* and *diſintereſted* coalition.

But, though lord FITZWILLIAM muſt always feel the mortifying humiliation of having been made the dupe and the tool of miniſtry, yet his conduct in Ireland, as far as his power was permitted to extend, did him honour. Various ſchemes had been contrived to cajole the Roman catholics of that country by illuſory conceſſions. The bubble could not be kept up for ever. In September 1792, Mr. KEOGH was deputed by the papiſts to apply to the miniſtry in England for that "juſt ſhare of the common advantages of the ſocial condition," which had been refuſed them by the ruling party in Ireland. They alſo took care to ſecure the powerful co-operation of Mr. BURKE, not only by the warmeſt aſſurances of their gratitude*, but by the immediate choice of his ſon for their agent. The father had, in-

* They afterwards gave him two thouſand pounds for his ſervices.

deed,

deed, ſtrongly recommended himſelf to their confidence by two very maſterly publications in their favor. One was "A Letter to a Peer of Ireland," written in February 1782, previous to a mock repeal of part of the penal laws againſt papiſts, which Mr. BURKE conſidered in reality as "neither more nor leſs than a renewed act of univerſal, unmitigated, indiſpenſable, exceptionleſs diſqualification." The other was "A Letter to ſir HERCULES LANGRISHE on the propriety of admitting the Roman catholics to the elective franchiſe." This was publiſhed in the beginning of the year 1792; and would be regarded as an honourable memorial of the genius, the liberal policy, and public ſpirit of the writer, if he had not deſtroyed theſe claims to our admiration by ſo many of his late productions. In the affair of the catholics, however, he exerted himſelf with great zeal, and with every appearance of ſucceſs. The replies of the miniſtry to Mr. KEOGH's application were very encouraging. He continued in London about three months, and then returned to Ireland, whither Mr. BURKE junior alſo went, with a view of rendering himſelf popular there, by effectually promoting the purpoſes of his employers, whoſe hopes became every day more ſanguine and more elevated. In lord FITZWILLIAM's Letters to the earl of CARLISLE, we are told, "that, among the *lures* held out to the duke of PORTLAND to make the *coalition palatable*, the home department of ſecretary of ſtate, and the general management and ſuperintendance of Ireland were offered to his grace. Theſe offers were no ſooner accepted," ſays the noble author, "than the ſcene began to open. Then it was firſt diſcovered that the object of all this mighty work was, not to ſtrengthen adminiſtration by an acceſſion of character, but to debaſe, degrade, and diſgrace that character.

"When the junction was irrevocably avowed and declared, then the pretenſions of Mr. DUNDAS to the continued management of the war were immediately brought forward; and a new office was to be *cabbaged* out of the duke of PORTLAND's, and an obvious diminution of his credit and authority was proclaimed. Lord FITZWILLIAM was not treated with greater delicacy. He had undertaken the government of Ireland on the expreſs condition that he was to complete what had been left imperfect in 1793, and that the catholics were to be relieved from every remaining diſqualification." But after having made ſome advances in that and ſeveral other popular meaſures, and thereby obtained from the Iriſh parliament a vote of ſupply munificent beyond every former example, he was ſuddenly recalled in 1795, and "turned adrift," as he himſelf declares, "to all the diſgrace and contempt it was Mr. PITT's expectation and wiſh ſhould attach to the leaders of the Whig party."

Mr. BURKE was not leſs mortified at the publication of thoſe letters than at the failure of his grand ſcheme for the emancipation of the catholics. His ſpirits were now alſo very much broken by a late domeſtic calamity. His ſon, the object of his fondeſt hopes and affection, in favor of whom he had vacated his ſeat for Malton after the cloſe of the ſeſſion in 1794, died in the beginning of Auguſt the ſame year, before he could enjoy the honour which his father intended him. A few days after the ſon's death, Mr. BURKE wrote his Will, which has been lately publiſhed, and of which, as well as of the Codicil annext to it in January 1797, the language and ſentiments afford one proof at leaſt of the truth of Dr. JOHNSON's remark, that "a man, who has been canting all his life, may cant to the laſt." The fairneſs and juſtice of the application will be evident to thoſe who compare

pare the following paſſage in his Will with his "Letter to a noble Lord," which was written about ſixteen or ſeventeen months after. In the Will, he ſays, "If the intimacy, which I have had with others, has been broken off by a political difference on great queſtions concerning the ſtate of things exiſting and impending, I hope they will forgive whatever of general human infirmity, or of my own particular infirmity, has entered into that contention. I heartily entreat their forgiveneſs." Let us now ſee how ſincere his entreaties of forgiveneſs were---how long he breathed this conciliating ſpirit---or, how long he remained in *obſcurity and ſorrow, inſenſible at once to the affairs and pleaſures of this world.*

Towards the cloſe of the year 1795, after parliament had been called together by the miniſter, to ſluice away ſome more of the blood and treaſure of this devoted country, and to deprive the people even of the miſerable conſolation of complaint, the earl of LAUDERDALE gave notice of his deſign, as a truſtee to the public, to inquire into the nature of the penſions which had been granted to Mr. BURKE, once the champion of œconomy, and whoſe only merits now were thoſe of having attacked the principles of freedom, and of having contributed very conſiderably to involving us in a calamitous war. The duke of BEDFORD alſo expreſſed his deſire to promote ſuch an inquiry; and it certainly would not have been diſcountenanced by lord GRENVILLE, could his lordſhip have aſſigned any better reaſon than a panegyric on Mr. BURKE's genius, for giving that gentleman two penſions on the four and a half per cent. fund,---a fund which had been appropriated to the fortification and defence of the Leward Iſlands. An alluſion to the ſame circumſtances gave Mr. WINDHAM an opportunity of ſounding the trumpet of Mr. BURKE's praiſe in the

the houſe of commons. But this gentleman would not, it ſeems, be indebted to others for an apology: he undertook it himſelf; and, in the beginning of the year 1796, publiſhed a very malignant and ſcurrilous attack upon the duke of BEDFORD and the earl of LAUDERDALE, for having dared to queſtion the propriety of his penſions. The blemiſhes that ſtain almoſt every page of his "Letter to a noble Lord;"---the weakneſs of his attempt to juſtify the wages of political apoſtacy;---his tribute of venal praiſe to the reigning prince, while he is in reality undermining the very foundations of the throne;---his libel on hereditary nobility, whom he deſcribes with worſe than *ignorant ſlippancy*, as being *ſwaddled, and rocked, and dandled into legiſlators*;---the blind, indiſcriminate rage, with which he tears to pieces the title deeds of almoſt all the great landed proprietors in the kingdom, for the purpoſe of proving that the duke of BEDFORD's tenure is at beſt but *iniquitouſly legal*;---his daring forgery of pretended records, in order to give ſome colouring to the moſt mendacious charges on the founder of the RUSSEL family;---his invaſion of the peaceful grave, to diſturb the aſhes of the dead, to rob their hallowed ſanctuary of its ornaments, and to wreak his impotent revenge on the defenceleſs remains of human grandeur;---the virulence of his invectives againſt a PRIESTLY, a CONDORCET, and a SIEYES, whoſe writings have enlarged the ſphere of uſeful ſcience, as well as of political information;---his challenge to the *fiſhwomen* of Paris, to meet him on the dirty ground of ribaldry and vulgar abuſe, or to vie with him in the horrors of cannibal ferocity;---all theſe and the other diſguſting crudities of Mr. BURKE's pamphlet have been ſo clearly pointed out in the various replies which it provoked, that any remarks of ours would be only faint echos of their ſevere, yet very juſt animadverſions,

We

We cannot, however, join ſome of them in their triumph over the dotage of genius. On the contrary, in reading a few of the leaſt exceptionable paſſages in this unhappy Letter, we feel the ſame emotions of pity as are naturally excited by the ſurvey of a mouldering column, or the ruins of an old temple, in which the ravages of time have not totally deſtroyed every trace of its ancient grandeur. Here and there we perceive ſome remains of his former vigour; but in far the greater part his palſied hand diſfigures the moſt beautiful images ſuggeſted by claſſical reading, or by his own fancy. How he has blurred over VIRGIL's picture of the *Harpies!*

> " Monſters more fierce offended heav'n ne'er ſent
> " From hell's abyſs, for human puniſhment."—

But Mr. BURKE, after borrowing ſome of the terrific ſtrokes of the original, to paint the " offſpring of night and hell," gives the moſt burleſque effect to the whole, by ſuddenly turning them into " *cuckoos, adulterouſly laying their eggs in every neſt!*" His ſimiles are equally farcical and incongruous. At one time, he compares the duke of BEDFORD to " a poor ox, upon whoſe ſides the *ſans culottes* carcaſe butchers are pricking their dotted lines;" and, at another time, to " *a leviathan of unwieldy bulk,*" yet, notwithſtanding that *unwieldineſs*, able to *play, and frolick*, and friſk, we ſuppoſe, *in the ocean of royal bounty!* Surely the writer's brain at that time muſt have teemed only with monſters---

> ——————" Like a madman's dreams,
> " Varying all ſhapes, and mixing all extremes."

The

The laſt production of Mr. BURKE's pen, his "Thoughts on the propoſal of a peace with the regicide Directory of France," affords another melancholy proof of a diſordered mind. When the miniſter found it expedient laſt year [1796] to amuſe the people for ſome little time with the *bubble of negotiation*, Mr. BURKE, as if any thing more had been intended than a temporary deluſion, began to trumpet forth the moſt frantic alarms at the idea even of a ſham treaty. Two Letters on the ſubject were hurried to the preſs in October; and a third was *ſet up*, or *compoſed*, as printers term it, waiting, in vain, for his corrections. Thoſe fatal Letters may be ſaid to have given the *coup-de-grace*, or death-blow, figuratively to his reputation, and almoſt literally to himſelf. As pieces of writing, they are very unworthy of his taſte and talents. They have not even the merit of novelty or of originality to recommend them. They are miſerable tranſlations of his former invectives againſt the French into ſomething far worſe than "gypſey jargon," into the moſt filthy dialect of Billingſgate. He rings all the old changes on *Jacobiniſm*, *Atheiſm*, *Cannibaliſm*, till his own fancy becomes, as it were, *cannibalized*, and preſents him with no better image than that of a regicide "ſnorting away the fumes of the indigeſted blood of his ſovereign, and then indulging his meditations with what king he ſhall next glut his ravening maw." Turning away with diſguſt from ſuch *ſlaughter-houſe daubs*, let us examine his caricature of the people whom he calls *Engliſh Jacobins*. "By paſſing from place to place," he ſays, "with a velocity incredible, and diverſifying their character and deſcription, they are capable of mimicking the general voice." How weak, how ſpiritleſs is this idea of *jacobin mimicry*, compared with the remarks which he made, in the meridian

ridian of his glory, on "the inſect race of *courtly falſhoods*,---on the inventions of the wretched runners for a wretched cauſe, which they had fly-blown into every weak and rotten part of the country, in vain hopes that when their maggots ſhould take wing, their importunate buzzing might ſound ſomething like the public voice!" We are not inclined to proceed any farther in theſe ſtrictures. It is a mortifying ſpectacle to ſee a writer, once ſo juſtly admired, deſcending to the tomb in ſuch a ſtate of degradation;---to ſee him ſtealing ideas from his former works, and always debaſing the theft;---to ſee him ſometimes aiming at ſublimity, only by feveriſh or delirious efforts!---But we muſt explain the hint already given, and ſhew how the publication of thoſe letters had a deadly effect on the author, as well as on his fame.

An "Appeal to the Candour and Juſtice of the Nation," prefixt by a bookſeller to the firſt edition of thoſe Letters, and bringing ſtrong charges of diſhonour and diſhoneſty againſt Mr. BURKE, is ſaid, in the impetuous ruſh of anger, to have been the cauſe of this gentleman's burſting a blood-veſſel, which accelerated his death. If the "Appeal," which was in mild, yet firm language blended with a little irony, operated ſo powerfully on Mr. BURKE's irritable mind, and urged him, in the moſt alarming ſtate of his health, to come to town for the purpoſe of making affidavits and giving directions to file a bill, in order to obtain, even upon very diſputable pretences, a temporary injunction, what may we judge of the effect of the following Advertiſement, which was ſoon after inſerted in the newſpapers by the ſame bookſeller?

" In the courſe of a few days will be publiſhed,

" PLAIN FACTS;

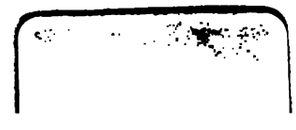
" or, a Narrative of the circumſtances that led to a connexion " between EDMUND BURKE, the *penſioner*, and JOHN OWEN, the " *bookſeller*; with a faithful report of the promiſes and engage- " ments of Mr. WINDHAM, *ſecretary at war*, Mr. WOODFORD, " *his ſecretary*, Mr. NAGLE, an *under-clerk* in the ſame office, " Dr. LAURENCE, *member for Peterborough*, and the rev. Dr. " KING.

" To which are added copies of ſeveral Letters from the ſaid " EDMUND BURKE to the ſaid JOHN OWEN, exhibiting ſpeci- " mens of inſolence and meanneſs, of alternate abuſe and crin- " ging ſubmiſſion, on the part of *the right honourable penſioner*, " unparalleled in the annals either of literature or of political " proſtitution.

" By JOHN OWEN."

This Advertiſement appeared in November 1796; but, as the work was ſuppreſſed, there is reaſon to believe that ſome compromiſe took place between the parties. The menace, however, ſank deep into Mr. BURKE's mind. A public conteſt with a bookſeller, and the great probability alſo of an ignominious defeat, muſt have been the keeneſt of all humiliations to the firſt writer of the age. His health kept rapidly declining till the eighth of July following, on which day he expired, as his attendants were conveying him to bed, at his country ſeat near Beaconsfield. Mr. Fox, who had been ſo much affected at the diſſolution of their friendſhip, and whoſe character he had afterwards ſo baſely ſtabbed in the dark, attended his funeral, and ſhed the tear of pity and forgiveneſs over his grave.

Thus

Thus have we endeavoured to delineate, without prejudice, but alſo without indulgence, the moſt remarkable parts of Mr. BURKE's public and private life. We chearfully paid the tribute of applauſe to thoſe productions of taſte, of genius, of public ſpirit, which rendered him illuſtrious; and we conſigned to equally juſt abhorrence the tyranny of his meaner paſſions, and particularly his envy, his malignity, his venality, his apoſtacy, the proſtitution and perverſion of his great talents, which tarniſhed all his former glory. The implicit admirers of every thing he ſaid or wrote, would do well to reflect upon CICERO's definition of an orator---" Vir bonus, dicendi peritus"---*A good man, ſkilled in the art of ſpeaking.* Integrity is the firſt requiſite, and eloquence the next. Mr. BURKE poſſeſſed the latter accompliſhment, but he wanted the former virtue. His tongue was perſuaſive, but his heart and his hands were not pure. He had the misfortune, by the abuſe of his extraordinary powers, to do more miſchief than, perhaps, ever fell to the lot of any other individual. Such characters hold out an awful leſſon to mankind; and it is the moſt ſacred duty of the hiſtorian, or biographer, not only to embalm the memories of the great and good in the odours of never-dying praiſe, but to hang up the baſe, the degenerate, and the wicked, as a terror to others, on the gibbets of eternal infamy.

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